[For an administrative and political history of the Masai reserve, see 4: Sandford, Category 116.]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca, 1894-1904) 1905
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174 A tribe coming from the north like the Masai, and possibly at one time in touch with races influenced by ancient Egypt, may conceivably represent not an improvement of the primaeval African stock but a degeneration of some other race. Still, the accounts which we have of the Bari and Dinka ascribe to them the same vague belief in a supernatural power, which most inquirers have reported as existing among the Masai, and an absence of traditions respecting the origin of the human race[1].

175 The history of the Masai, as far as we know it for the last hundred years, presents as its most important feature a conflict between the pastoral and agricultural sections, ending in the victory of the former and the annihilation of large settlements of the latter. The conflict was disastrous for the race, for the portion which survived depended entirely on cattle and raiding for subsistence. The herds suffered severely from plague in the eighties, and the advent of Europeans and the gradual introduction of the Pax Britannica could not be otherwise than unfavourable to the pre-eminence of a tribe whose prosperity depended so largely on continually plundering their neighbours. Nevertheless from at least 1850 to the early eighties the pastoral Masai were a formidable power in East Africa. They successfully asserted themselves against the Arab slave-traders, took tribute from all who passed through their country, and treated other races, whether African or not, with the greatest arrogance. About 1859 they raided Vanga on the coast near the present German frontier. Thomson (*Through Masai Land*, 1885) describes how, in 1883, they entered his camp and ordered about the whole caravan, including himself, as if they had been masters and the travellers slaves. This period of triumph was succeeded by one of disaster. Rinderpest attacked the cattle and small-pox human beings. The surrounding tribes who had suffered from their raids were not slow to revenge themselves for the oppression and plunder of the past, and a severe famine completed the catalogue of misfortunes. The numbers of the Masai were undoubtedly greatly reduced, and at present those found in British East Africa only amount to a very modest figure, variously estimated at from 15,000 to 12,500. The latter estimate, which is the latest and perhaps the most correct, is based on the assumption that there are 7,500 in the

[1] See Hinderer, *Six Years Service*, 1888, p. 98, &c. It is true that some expressions ascribed to the Dinka, such as 'We do not know—God who does know,' might be interpreted as a consciousness of the loss of traditions.

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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Naivasha province and 5000 between Kikuyu and Kilima-Njaro.

The expansion of the tribe seems to have come to an end about the middle of the last century. About 1850 they reached their furthest recorded point in the south and were driven back by the Wagogo and Wahehe. The southward movements of the Gallas and Somalis kept them back on the north-east, though as late as the nineties they raided on the Tana river. It would appear that about 1850 the Turkana drove the most westerly branch of the Masai from the west to the south of Lake Rudolf, where they are now settled. Somewhere about the same period—at the time an old man can remember according to the native expression—the Masai dwelling on the Uasin-Gishu plateau attacked those of Naivasha, and after defeating them were in their turn thoroughly defeated by a combination of Naivasha and allies from Kilima-Njaro. The inhabitants of the Uasin-Gishu were scattered to the four winds: those who escaped their brethren were annihilated by the Nandi, and only a few fragmentary remnants survive in Kavirondo, Lumbwa, and the two villages called Great and Little Enjámusi at the south end of Lake Baringo. Another branch called L-Oiguilla or Segelli took refuge in the Nyando valley but were wiped out by the Nandi and Lumbwa. The Laikipia plateau, which is now uninhabited like the Uasin-Gishu, was not depopulated in 1889, when Peters crossed it and had many fights with the Masai. According to one story, the people of Laikipia raided some other Masai near Nairobi about 1850 and carried off their cattle. These cattle were suffering from rinderpest, and the result was that all the stock of the Laikipia took the disease and died. This was considered as a judgment on the Laikipia for raiding their brethren.

At present the agricultural Masai are found chiefly near Lake Natron and south of Mount Meru in German territory. In our Protectorate they are represented only by a few scattered settlements, such as the people of Enjámusi, the Burkeneji, and perhaps the people of Samburu in the Rendile country. It would appear that the name Wakwavi, often applied to the agriculturalists, is merely a Swahili nickname borrowed from the Masai Kwavi or Kwapi, meaning plains. The pastoral section classify themselves under five districts, with many subdivisions, namely Kapotiei (Kapite plains), En-aipesha (Naivasha), Kisongo (the district south and west of Kilima-Njaro), Uasin-Gishu, and L-Alkippiak. The two last districts, as mentioned, have ceased to exist, and those who

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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Ore'M-Batyany na ol-móruo kitok eata eng-ólgu nabo ake, nemeitei en-gerai enye, neisho 'n-dítkitin o-'l-oiboni, na ol-kuma le-'nghengeri, o en-gídolig, o ol-tulet, o embene, o 'n-doto o-'n-aibon,' ntjo: 'Iye aitore 'l-alashere linitoo o ol-orere pikin.'

Now Mbatian was very aged and he had only one eye. He therefore did not see which of his sons was before him and gave to Lenana the insignia of the medicine-man (the iron club and the medicine horn, the gourd, the stones', and the bag), at the same time saying: 'Thou shalt be great amongst thy brothers and amongst all the people.'

Ne'ya Ol-Ónana 'n-dítkitin o-'l-oiboni, nalo.

Lenana took the medicine-man's insignia and went away.

Ore p' eidip sakitoo, nejiíg Sendéu eng-eji e-menye, ntjíkini: 'Ol-alashe lino o'yawa 'n-dítkitin o-'l-oiboni.' Ne-gure nalelg Sendéu, ntjo: 'Maitore ol-alashe lai, sarare oo matua.'

Sendeyo then went to his father, but was told that his brother had already been there and been given the medicine-man's insignia. When he heard this, he was very angry and said: 'I will not be subject to my brother; I will fight with him till I kill him.'

Ónana ntá 'M-Batyany, nenokari to-'l-Deinyo Orok.

Mbatian died and was buried near Donyo Erok.

Ore p' eidip aisa, ntjo kulikae-tuñgunak: 'Ol-Ónana ol-oiboni lalg, anu etiaka 'yunk 'M-Batyany, "Aiabo 'n-dítkitin o-'l-oiboni en-gerai ai nare ol-oiboni liayi."' Netoni to-idye saboitare Ol-Ónana.

When he was dead, some of the people proclaimed Lenana principal medicine-man, 'for,' they said, 'Mbatian told us that he would give the insignia of his office to whichever of his sons he wished should succeed him.' They therefore remained with Lenana.

Kake tjo kulikae: 'Muo ol-oiboni lalg elle, anu etiatjiaka.' Nepwo ninjo saaij Sendéu.

But others said: 'We will not acknowledge this man for he is a ghost,' and they threw in their lot with Sendeyo[1].

[1] It is possible that these stones, which according to tradition were brought many years ago from the north, may prove to be of some interest. It is essential that no European has ever been allowed to behold them.

[2] This is the story as told by the Masai. The official version is that Lenana was chosen by the elders of most of the clans and districts as his father's death, lest that Sendeyo refused to acknowledge him, and was

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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Ore kuldo ooshómo saboitare Sendéu, nemweiyu, nóú 'l-kumok, nemuta 'n-gishu enye, ntar ail 'l-Dashi. Ore kuldo oototo-lo saboitare Ol-Ónana, neitu emweiyu, netum in-gishu, anaa en-netíjo 'M-Batyany.

Ntara Ol-Ónana o Sendéu 'l-aria kumok, ntari Sendéu, neitu te-'le-ari le-figole anai el-aisaba, neishori eton saboita, neitaya o-eitwa.

Ore ten etaa en-nóú Ol-Ónana, negula en-gurai enye naiyitíu en-aibon.

Ore en-díki kitok to-'l-oibuni naa el-kuma le-'seg-hengai. Ore ten eiriwaa el-oibuni el-kilikwai pe ejiki 'l-enfiguak títki, eeiriwaa el-kuma lenye pe enifig il-tafiguak o-ruvai lenye.

Naa, ten tuah el-oibuni el-tafiguai to-'l-kuma le-'seg-

Now disease broke out amongst Sendeyo's people, many of whom died, their cattle all perished, and they were defeated by the Germans; whilst those people who remained with Lenana did not fall ill, and they obtained cattle, as Mbatian had predicted. 173 578 791 628

The two rivals waged war for many years, and eventually Sendeyo was beaten. He came in 1902 to beg his brother to allow him to live with him, and peace was concluded between the two parties.

Before Lenana dies he will select whichever of his sons is acquainted with the work of the medicine-men to succeed him. 791

The principal badge of the medicine-man's office is the iron club[1]. If the medicine-man sends a messenger to tell his people anything, he also sends his club so that it may be known that the message comes from him. 791 293

Should a medicine-man strike anybody with the iron club, that [753]

supported by the 'l-oitai (i.e. the Masai of the 'l-oita sub-district, near Kilima Njaro), with whom he lived for many years. The warriors of the two parties frequently met in deadly strife, and raided each other's cattle. In 1902 Sendeyo gave up the hopeless conflict, and agreed to acknowledge his brother as chief. He now lives not far from Naivasha. Lenana himself says that he and his three brothers Sendeyo, Nellang, and Tolito were circumcised by their father a short time before the latter's death, and as he possessed a better knowledge of the work of the medicine-men than his brothers, he was given the iron club, &c., and chosen by the elders as Mbatian's successor. [578] [175] [791] [193]

[1] On one occasion the iron club was lost. A messenger was sent by Lenana to the Government authorities at Nairobi, and when crossing the Uganda Railway he was overtaken by a train. He jumped on one side and saved his life, but dropped the club, which was never found again. Its place was taken for some years by a small iron poker, but another club has now been made.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

On the whole, those two authorities stress the linguistic unity of all the Masai.

The great majority of the Masai are pastoral, only very few tribes having taken to agriculture. The pastoral tribes follow a semi-nomadic way of life. "They move", writes Lord HAILEY,[3] "with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that in effect they practise a system of rotational grazing". The same writer,[4] reports "a recent estimate" of Masai herds in Kenya which puts "the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys". For Tanganyika he gives no figure. The above estimates show clearly enough how the attitude of the Masai to cattle is a paramount feature of their life. To own cattle is a privilege obtained through initiation, and large herds are a sign of outstanding social status. Cattle are the main economic interest and investment for the Masai.[5]

The total population of all the Masai may be reckoned at about 122,792. The 1948 census of Kenya's population (see Bibl.) gives for the Samburu an estimate of 20,000, and the following figures: Njempa 3,423, the other Masai 67,201. In 1931 the Tanganyika Masai were reckoned as 32, 168.

* * *

Under the present political situation, the Masai are not administered as a single unit, for they are divided into two sections by the border of Tanganyika Territory and Kenya Colony.

In Tanganyika the Masai form one of the four districts of the Territory's Northern Province (the Masai District). In Kenya the main group inhabits the reserve adjoining Tanganyika Masai District, and constitutes the Extra Provincial District (Masai District) of the Colony. The other group (Samburu and Njamusi) is incorporated with the Rift Valley Province (Samburu and Baringo District), and partly with the Northern Frontier Province. The geographical separation of the Samburu from the other Masai is the reason why the Samburu were considered, and are still considered, as a non-Masai tribe. But, as BRYAN remarks, they are true Masai. The splitting of Masailand and the separation of the Masai were made

[3] HAILEY, *Native Administration in the British African Territories*, Part I, London 1950, p. 201.

[4] *L. c.*, p. 167.

[5] In this connection see the article of L. JAMES, in *Africa*, 13, pp. 49 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

permanent by the present administrative arrangement, but were not established by it. The land which divides the Samburu in the north from the Kapiti in the south of Kenya, was once the home of the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu Masai. In those days, Masailand was a continuous strip of land stretching over the plains south of Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru up to the shores of Lake Rudolph. At the end of 19th century a great cattle plague and, even more, civil wars (the Kapiti versus the Laikipiak and Uasin Gishu) wrought havoc among the latter, who were almost destroyed. The few remnants have been absorbed by other Masai tribes, especially the Kapiti and the Kisongo. The Laikipiak plains west of Nanyuki which in 1904 had first been set aside as a special reserve (the Northern Masai reserve), were subsequently declared open to European settlement, and by 1911 Agreement the Southern Masai Reserve was enlarged into what is now the Extra Provincial District of the Masai in Kenya Colony. [1]

* * *

A comparative analysis of the literature shows the existence of three graded territorial units, the major and the minor territorial sections, and the village. A character common to the first two sections is the absence of a clear limit or boundary. The sections are spoken of in terms of watering and grazing rights. The nomadic aspect of Masai life is chiefly responsible for this territorial vagueness. The absence of any centralised authority to check people and cattle's transhumance is another important cause of the vagueness of Masai territorial organisation.

The major territorial section is made up by the area in which the movements of a full tribe usually take place. The existence of

[1] SANDFORD, *An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve*, London 1919, Appendix; *K. L. C. E.*, p. 183. One may note that the Uasin Gishu and the Laikipiak, together with the Siria and the Lumbwa were despised as inferior, for they were not considered as "pure Masai" by the other tribes who regarded themselves as descendants of Masinda. See FOURNEREAU, p. 7. This ill-feeling may explain in part, the fury with which the Kapiti fought against the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu.

In December 1953, I visited the Ndigiri Dorobo at Dol Dol on the Mukogodo Hills, some 80 miles north west of Nanyuki. They claim to have been dependent on the Laikipiak Masai, and they survived the slaughter thanks to their seclusion in the forests. Their present outlook seems to be entirely Masai. The names of their age-classes are consonant with those of the Masai.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

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clanamen frequently meet on the water, and other matters — marriage, debts, etc. — come up for settlement before the tribunal". Clan ownership does not exclude individual ownership, which is integrated by the former as a sort of higher supervision. The point is that no clan property must be passed over to other clans without the owning clan's approval. HOBLEY,[29] states that cattle used to be marked by a clan brand showing clan-possession, and sometimes by a brand of the individual owner.

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The corporate bond arising from clan relationship is confirmed by cases of murder compensation. Even if a murderer is a wealthy man, and might pay all the compensation out of his own stock, "the other branches of the clan would still contribute and they would pay their share". However, "if a Masai kills a member of his own branch of the *gilat* he pays compensation himself, and the other branches do not contribute".[30] LEAKEY, on the other hand, was told by his informants that no compensation is expected when a man kills a member of his own branch. They say: "what would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?"[31] HOBLEY reports further that "each branch of the *gilat* to whom the murdered man belongs, receives a share of the compensation: 2-3rds to the murdered's father", and the rest is distributed among the other elders of the clan.[32] This is also confirmed by the notes of MAGUIRE on the penal code of the Masai.[33]

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One should note that the corporate bond formed by clan relationship is of a particularist nature. It ties members to their own clan in opposition to other clans within the same tribe.

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The many efforts of the Administration to identify a native political institution for local government make a very interesting piece of etnographical history. First in Kenya, and also, after 1918, in Tanganyika, one laibon was recognized as the Paramount Chief of the Masai. In Kenya such an office was abolished in 1918, while a graded system of councils was introduced: a Central Masai Council, 14 Native Councils and local Headmen. They acted as tribunals,

[29] HOBLEY, *Ethnology of A-Kamba*, p. 139.
[30] HOBLEY, l. c., p. 139; FOSBROOKE, l. c., pp. 42 s.
[31] LEAKEY, *Some Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 66, 1936, p. 366.
[32] HOBLEY, l. c.
[33] MAGUIRE, *The Masai Penal Code*, in *J. A. S.*, 33, 1934, pp. 12 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

the Central Council being the Appeal Court. In the thirties, the system was again modified, and there are now two regularly constituted tribunals in each of the two Kenya Districts, Narok and Kajiado, in the Masai reserve, and an Appeal Tribunal in each district. In Tanganyika changes came later. Only in 1938 the Paramount Chief was abolished and a new system introduced. There is now a Masai Council, acting as the Appeal Court from the six Local Courts established under the authority of a Headman. Lord HAILEY, commenting on the Tanganyika system, remarks that "the whole of the juridical organisation seems on a tentative basis, and in practice it functions irregularly, owing to the nomadic habits of the people". This is more or less true also for Kenya. It is a fact that, in Kenya and Tanganyika, the Masai never accepted the authority of the *laibon* or prophet in terms of Paramount Chief, and that they dislike the idea of a formally established court. [*] Nomadism, as Lord HAILEY points out, has much to do with this attitude of the Masai, but it is their social structure which has no place for such institutions. Whatever political authority exists among the Masai, it is established on the structural basis of the age-system. This system has a dynamic character which can hardly be reconciled with the rigidity of any administrative system imposed from above by the Government.

The institution of the Masai prophet has been described by FOSBROOKE, p. 13. He distinguishes three types of *laibon*. "First there is the private practitioner who, for suitable remunerations, will perform such service as curing sickness, removing barrenness and ensuring fidelity in wives. He is only consulted by individual patients. The next stage is when a private practitioner has acquired such a reputation that he is consulted by a deputation on behalf of a group of Masai, and provides charms and lays down a ceremonial to be utilised to the advantage of the whole group. Such prac-

[*] Writing of the Native Authority System in Kenya after 1918, Lord HAILEY says in *Native Administration in the British African Territories. Part I — East Africa: Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika*, London 1950, p. 171, "these Tribunal were not generally recognised by the Masai who preferred that such *matters as arose between them should be settled* in the customary manner by the Headman or Elders". And with regard to the new development he notes, p. 178, that "the preference for referring cases to the arbitration of local headmen *or elders persists*". He makes a similar comment for Tanganyika on p. 204: "in the Masai District the majority of the issues arising between the tribesmen are settled by arbitration".

"The expansion of the tribe," writes Sir Charles Eliot, "seems to have come to an end about the middle of last century. About 1850, they reached their furthest recorded point in the south, and were driven back by the Wagogo and Wahehe . . . . About 1860, the Turkana were the most westerly branch of the Masai from the west to the south of Lake Rudolf . . . . Somewhere about the same period . . . . the Masai-dwelling on the Uasin Gishu plateau attacked those of Naivasha, and after defeating them were in their turn thoroughly defeated by a combination of Naivasha and allies from Kikuyu-Njoro. The inhabitants of the Uasin Gishu were scattered to the four winds: those who escaped their heathens were annihilated by the Nandi, and only a few fragmentary remnants survive in Naivasha, Londiani, and three villages called Great and Little Ragumoni, at the south end of Lake Baringo. Another branch called L-Gaguldo, or Sagalli, took refuge in the Nyando valley, but were wiped out by the Nandi and Londiani."

Early history of the Masai

The same writer says:—"From at least 1800 (the early eighties, the pastoral Masai were a formidable power in East Africa. They successfully asserted themselves against the Arab slave-traders, took tribute from all who passed through their country, and treated other races, whether African or not, with the greatest arrogance." The record of Masai raids is much too complete as it affects the eastern part of their territory than on the west. This is readily understandable on account of the records having been made by Europeans, who obtained their information from the east coast, and not by residents from Uganda: but it also appears probable that the Masai found their expeditions eastwards to be more remunerative and less costly than any they might undertake on the west, for it has never been contended that the Nandi and Lumbwa, their western neighbours, were not at any time of their history a match, more than a match, for the Masai. About 1800, the Masai raided Taveta: in August, 1905, they were in the Galla country near Mzungu-chini: and again, and in 1907, they were raiding on the Tana River, near Wachi: the Galla would retreat to Kenia in times of war with the Masai as, their place being surrounded by water, it was considered immune from Masai attack. In August, 1870, theMasai were at Kibe, whence all natives fled to Rombawa, while six years later they again raided the same locality, on this occasion visiting the Mission station and killing two of the native converts. In 1883, they raided Ganduni, on the east opposite Zanzibar, whence they were repulsed with guns, and three expeditions overwhelmed by two raids on the Mission station of the United Methodist Free Church Mission, at Golbanti, on the Tana River, in the first of which, in March, 1891, two native Christians were killed, and in the second, on May 3rd of the same year, the two resident missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Broughton, shared the same fate. As late as 1900, the Masai raided within sight of Mombasa Island. The result of the constant raids was that all inhabitants were driven from the more exposed portions of the coast belt, that the Giriama were prevented from keeping ripe herds, and that Galla settlements on the southern Tana totally disappeared.

Masai raids

Probably the first European who made the acquaintance of the Masai, was Mr. Rebmann, the colleague of Dr. Krapf, who visited Chagga country on three occasions: and Dr. Krapf, who himself travel in Usambara in 1848 and 1849, gives a description of "The Wakwafi and Masai Tribe" in his book "Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours, &c.," published in 1860. The following extracts are taken from this description as giving a early impression created by the tribe at the time of the European invasion.

Rebmann visits to Chagga, Dr. Krapf

"The Wakwafi and Masai," writes Dr. Krapf, "are call themselves 'Orloikob,' or 'Loikob,' 'lapsis,' . . . . that is, possessors of the land, ... occupy large plains in the interior of Eastern Africa, which extend from about one degree north of the Equator to about four degrees south of it. The names 'Wakwafi' and 'Masai' are given them by the tribes of the coast. Their manner of life is nomadic, and where they find water and grass, there they encamp often for months together. They live entirely on milk, butter, honey, and the meat of their cattle, goats and sheep, and on the game which they hunt down: having a great distaste for agriculture, believing that the cultivation

Dr. Krapf's description [101]

*125 *148 affected by cereals exhibited, and is only suited to the despised tribes of the mountains: while to feed on meat and milk gives strength and courage. When cattle fail them they make raids on the tribes which they know to be in possession of herds. They say that Engai (Heaven) gave them all that exists in the way of cattle, and that no other nation ought to possess any. Wherever there is a herd of cattle, thither it is the call of the Wakuafi and Masai to proceed and seize it. Agreeably with this maxim, they undertake expeditions for hundreds of leagues to attain their object, and make forays into the territories of the Wakamba, the Galla, the Wajagga, and even the Wanika on the sea-coast. They are dreaded as warriors, laying all waste with fire and sword, so that the weaker tribes do not venture to resist them in the open field, but leave them in possession of their herds, and seek only to save themselves by the quickest possible flight.

[411] "The weapons of the Masai and Wakuafi consist of a spear, a large, oblong shield, and a club round and thick at the top, hurling which with the greatest precision, at a distance of from fifty to seventy paces they can dash out the brains of an enemy: and it is this weapon, above all, which strikes terror into the East-Africans, the Swahili with their muskets not excepted. The Wakuafi shelter themselves behind their long shields until they become close enough to the enemy to make good use of their clubs. They conquer or die, death having no terrors for them. . . . . .

[961] "The two kindred tribes, the Wakuafi and the Masai, hate each other mortally, which is a fortunate circumstance for the weaker African tribes: since, were they united and ruled by one supreme head, there would soon be an end to the existence of the other East-African tribes, who could not possibly resist them, the savage Galles themselves not excepted: for the latter fly before the Wakuafi and Masai, and, at the most, only prove dangerous enemies to them by stratagem and running, but never cope with them in a fair and open field.

"As regards the physical conformation of the Masai and Wakuafi, their forms are tall and slender, with handsome and rather light-complexioned features. . . . . From their beauty of form the Masai and Wakuafi slaves, especially the young females, are much sought after by the Arabs and Swahilis of the coast; and they become much attached to their Mohammedan masters, provided always, that the latter do not require from them any kind of labour which is repugnant to their habits, such as tilling the soil and similar occupations.

"The Wakuafi and Masai as pastoral tribes, consider themselves the exclusive possessors of the plains and wildernesses, with their springs and rivers, and they do not attack the inhabitants of the mountains, so long as they confine themselves to their mountains, and refrain from descending into the level country to turn it to agricultural or pastoral purposes. It is said, however, that very recently, they have resolved to take possession of the mountain Kadiaro* to facilitate their freebooting expeditions against the Galla, Wanika, and Swahili, and to exclude those tribes of the coast from access to the interior. . . . . .

Discovery of the source of the Nile. The Masai first came into prominence in connection with the development of Africa and with geographical discovery by the discovery of the source of the Nile in 1858 and by the interest then aroused in Europe, both in Uganda and in the possibilities of opening up a more direct route from the sea than that one then in use from opposite Zanzibar to the northern end of the Victoria Nyanza. To the opening of this route the most serious difficulty to be overcome was the opposition of the country occupied by the then formidable and dreaded Masai, of whom practically all that was known was the rumour of their bravery and success in arms. Most coast traders had repeatedly crossed Nguuland, but no European had attempted the task.

Dr. Fischer and H. Reichard. In 1882, a German naturalist, named Dr. G. A. Fischer, was sent out by the Geographical Society of Hamburg to explore the possibilities of this route. He started from Pangani, opposite Zanzibar, with a caravan of 150 natives and porters,

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and, on reaching the borders of Masailand at Little Aruscha, was attacked by some of the Masai. Three were beaten off, and the expedition advanced as far as Lake Naivasha, which was reached on the 11th of May. There the Masai stubbornly opposed his further progress, and after a stay of nearly four weeks in that neighbourhood, he was forced to return to the coast.

Dr. Thomson's journey through Masailand.

About a year later, the feasibility of the route was fully demonstrated by Mr. Joseph Thomson, who was sent out to East Africa for the purpose by the Royal Geographical Society, and the account of whose adventures is given in full in his book ("Through Masai Land." Sampson, Low and Co., 1885).

Mr. Thomson, with his caravan of 140 men, left Mombasa in March, 1883, and travelled by way of the Church Missionary Society's station at Taita to Taveta and the eastern slopes of Kilimanjaro. On attempting to enter the Masai country, he found them so hostile that he was compelled to return to Taveta, where he joined forces with a body of Arab ivory traders. The caravan being now too powerful to fear attack, he proceeded to Ngongo Bogas, being subjected to much annoyance and many indignities by the Masai. Arrived at Naivasha, he found the Masai very troublesome, and had great difficulty in moving, as he desired, towards Kenya over Suttiora, the highest point in the Aberdare Range. He found the Masai in great force on Lelokpia, and further difficulties beset him. His supplies of food and trade goods giving out. He records a terrible epidemic of rinderpest which had recently broken out, destroying the Masai herds and rendering it impossible to procure food. Finally, he was forced to "fly in the middle of the night," and he escaped towards the southern part of Lelokpia, arriving at Ngongo early in November. From there he proceeded without much difficulty to the Victoria Nyanza, at a place forty-five miles east of the outlet of the Nile. Thomson was thus the first explorer to cross the whole width of the Masai country and reach the Victoria Nyanza from the east.

Count Teleki's expedition.

The third great expedition across Masai country was undertaken by Count Samuel Teleki von Szek, who was accompanied by Lieut. von Hohnel, and who left Zanzibar in January, 1887. He passed by Kilimanjaro, crossed the Kapoptel Plains, reached Ngongo Bogas in August, and moved northwards to Lake Rudolf. This expedition was important, on account of Count Teleki having twice crossed the Masai country without conflict with the natives.

Dr. Ashworth Jeffreys in Masailand.

No encounter with the Masai occurred on the occasion of Mr. (now Sir Frederick) Jackson's journey towards the Victoria Nyanza in the autumn of 1889, but Dr. Carl Peters, who followed a route further to the north, met them on Lelokpia where an engagement took place, two Somalis and one Swahili being killed from among his followers. An account of this latter journey is given in Mr. F. L. McDermott's book, "British East Africa or Ibea." (Chapman and Hall, 1893), from which the following is a quotation from a narrative related by one of Dr. Peters' Somali followers:—

"The Masai at this place (Lelokpia) had large herds of cattle, goats and sheep, and we carried off the goats and sheep away with us, but had to leave the cattle behind, being too wild to drive. There would be about sixty of us in the caravan at this time. In the conclusion of this engagement, nine of the Wa-Elkuyu escaped. These Masai followed our caravan for two days, but our Askari kept them away by firing at long distances. On the third night they came down on us but were repulsed.

"We had another engagement at a later period, and lost one Swahili."

Dr. Peters' methods may not command approval, but it would appear that the Masai, who were accustomed to attack whatever caravan they met, received from him a wholesome lesson as to the efficacy of the modern firearm, a lesson which they were ready to remember in their subsequent meetings with European caravans.

Decline of Masai power.

The year 1890 may be said to mark the commencement of the decline of the power of the Masai. The western portions of Ukimbu, the lowlands of the Athi River, the plains of Chambani, and the neighbourhood of Mount Kenya were all

4:Sandford G-4,5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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visited in that year. A graphic account of a Masai visitation to the country east of Mount Kenya is given by Commander Dundas, R.N., in the "Scottish Geographical Magazine" of March, 1900. Commander Dundas navigated the Tana River to a point 300 miles from its mouth in the early nineties, and then proceeded overland towards Mount Kenya.

A Masai raid

"On our return," he writes, "through the Kikuyu country, a most harrowing sight presented itself; what only a few days before were prosperous villages, standing amid fields of grain, were now smoking ruins; bodies of old men, women and children, half-burnt, lay in all directions; here and there might be seen a few ordinary individuals, sitting with their heads buried in their hands, hardly noticing the passing caravan, and apparently in the lowest depths of misery and despair. On questioning several of these unhappy beings, I was informed that the Masai had unexpectedly arrived one morning at dawn, spearing and burning all before them, and carrying off some 200 women and large herds of cattle. Only a few of the unfortunate people had escaped by flying to the mountains."

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Cattle plague

Raids

At the end of 1890, a cattle plague started on the East Coast, opposite Aden, and spread inland. In the spring of 1891 it had overrun the Masai country, but by the autumn of that year it had spread through Ruanda and Uganda and the majority of cattle and buffalo were dead. Simultaneously, the Masai were attacked by small-pox and their numbers considerably reduced. The cattle plague forced their occupancy and largely deprived them of their means of subsistence and the subsequent disease found them weak and hungry and killed off large numbers. From this date Masai supremacy ceased to exist and, though the terror of their name long outlived their powers in the coast areas, the tribes surrounding the Masai country were not slow to take their revenge for the oppression and plunder they had suffered in the past, and on the advent of the Company's administrators, the Masai were in a pitiable plight.

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Relations between Masai and Wakamba

An extract from Captain (now General Sir F. D.) Lugard's diary is interesting as showing the relations of the Wakamba and the Masai at this transition stage:—

"These Wakamba are at constant war with the Masai. They have scouts out along the hills and on the lowlands, by day and night, I believe, so that the approach of any Masai is at once known, and they assemble in enormous numbers, almost instantaneously, to fight them. Moreover, every day little parties pass my camp (at Machakos) on their way to loot cattle from the Masai. Some as far as a week, perhaps, running further on (where they put on their war-dress). It is a daily sight, and one sees them going and returning all day long on their expeditions. Altogether, they seem to make a country hot for the Masai about here. In turn the Masai loot Wakamba cattle, etc."

Machakos Station

Ngong

A station was established by the Imperial British East Africa Company at Machakos in 1889, and on being sent on his mission to Uganda Captain Lugard had received instructions to build a station at Ngongo Bagas; this area, however, he found to be a more waste land, uninhabited except by passing Masai, who were in the habit of grazing their flocks and herds in that neighbourhood during the dry season. As the object of this station was to be the foundation of a centre for the purchase of food for caravans proceeding to Uganda, he decided to build in the southern community of Kikuyu, as close as possible to Machakos, so as to get in touch with the tribe, but within the borders of the rich and fertile, food-producing country, and he consequently selected Dagoretti as a suitable site, in October, 1890.

Kikuyu tribes, Masai and Wakamba

In describing the Kikuyu relations with the Masai at the time of the first visit, Captain Lugard writes:—"These people are at constant war with the Masai, who periodically raid the country in strong war-parties. The Wa-Kikuyu, however, hold their own, either surprised or attacked in overpowering force. I saw along one of the roads made a series of pits concealed in the road (apparently for the sake of the path), and was told that, in the event of a Masai raid, numbers would conceal themselves in each of these pits, and spear the Masai as they passed."

Captain Legard left Dagoretti on November 1st, 1901, having completed the stockade and put together some rough houses for stores and native quarters. He left in charge Mr. George Wilson with some thirty men, and Mr. Wilson, while at Dagoretti, succeeded in getting into touch with the neighbouring Kikuyu and in establishing British influence into the Kikuyu country. "This," wrote Captain Legard, was "the first time that any European had ever succeeded in obtaining their confidence and friendship." In April, 1902, Mr. Wilson had to evacuate the fort owing to lack of ammunition and it was thereupon burned down by the Kikuyu, who looted the stores it contained. Having collected thirty men at Machakos, Mr. Wilson returned to Kikuyu, and the Masai, with whom he had made great friends, offered their assistance. He declined it, but they would not be denied and remained close at hand to come to his assistance should need arise.

Having completed Dagoretti station, he took steps to establish the fort and a stockade was made with the Kikuyu chief the Masai, who had been his staunch friends throughout, should have free access to Kikuyu country to trade. This treaty was kept inviolate for seven months.

Shortly after this, Mr. Wilson left the service of the Company and Dagoretti station was abandoned, while another station with a strong stockade was started at Fort Smith.

The Masai, who had previously behaved so well, were fired upon by the Company's troops while carrying out a raid against the Kikuyu, and enraged by the murder of such men, finally abandoning their friendly attitude and becoming distinctly hostile.

The possibilities of travelling to Uganda by the route traversing Masai country had been fully demonstrated by various journeys which had performed the journey but this route had not been used in general use in 1902, the favoured route being through the less hazardous districts of Usoma East Africa being normally used by other than Government caravans. In that year it was suggested that it might be convenient to communicate and other parties if arrangements could be made for the utilization of the more direct route to Uganda and the Company's representatives were therefore asked to get into touch with the Masai in order to facilitate such journeys. A meeting was held at Machakos near Nairobi in 1902 between the Masai and Mr. Ainsworth as the representative of the Company, when certain details respecting this route were amicably settled, the Masai assisting on that occasion by the provision of one hundred donkeys for transport work.

Though the power of the Masai had largely decreased by the year 1903, it appears that they were still considered a people to be reckoned with, for Major Macdonald, in his report dealing with the construction of a railway from Mombasa to Kikuyu, remarked:

"The most fertile districts of the Company's territory would be in touch with the railway, and the check the line would place on Masai raids would probably considerably extend the areas of cultivation, and enable much valuable and well-watered land now uncultivated to be made use of by the agricultural Wakamba."

In a later paragraph of the report, it is stated:—

"As regards the action of the Masai with respect to the construction of the proposed railway, I do not think that they would offer any opposition to it. Cases of cattle-lifting would occur, no doubt, but of organized or even petty opposition there would probably be none."

In the debate which took place in the House of Commons in regard to the construction of the railway, the opposition to the railway was almost entirely based on objections drawn from the character of the Uganda and Masai, with whom it was feared trouble might ensue. The Masai were at that time estimated to number 100,000 and it was considered that the first effect of the railway would be to put a stop to their raiding and oblige them to adopt peaceful industry.

Section 4, Mr. Hall's MS.

The following extract from Mr. McDermott's book referred to above, indicates the position in which the Kenet were to be found after the conflicts and migrations which dominated the 1890s and their bands in 1900 and 1901. This extract was written in 1908 and also shows the early attitude of the Kenet towards the Company's administration.

"The Kenet, who inhabit the country west of Elgon and who have won such notoriety for succeeding have latterly fallen upon evil days and have ceased to be the terror they formerly were to the other tribes. The presence of European authority in the country together there with arms from the East, and no gunny, however small, has been conducted passing through their country, or obliged to pay the 'hongo' tribute, since the advent of the Company. The moral suasion of European occupation has been of itself sufficient to secure this respect. The steps taken to discourage their raiding habits have contributed their benefit in other directions. Lastly, the epidemic which lately swept over the country and destroyed the cattle was a terrible blow to them, and reduced them to the verge of starvation. The Wa-Elgoni, their old enemies, have seized every opportunity of attacking their bands, and in force or small have made a practice of carrying off their women and children as slaves. Some of these they have ransomed for themselves, some they have bartered with other tribes and some with the neighbouring Wakavirondo. The slave trade thus carried on it has been the object of the persistent efforts of Mr. Ainsworth and Mr. Hall to suppress. Their efforts has met with marked success, especially in stopping the trade between Elgoni and Ukambani. It would be impossible at present, and will the Wa-Elgoni are more completely under control, to prevent the raiding and kidnapping of their people in the Kenet country, but the liberation of their captives, when discovered, has lessened the profits of the business and so far discouraged it. Nor has this been the only unpleasant taken with others by Mr. Hall. Last year a party of the Kenet came to him at Port Smith and begged protection for two people. These were in the bush, in hourly danger of an attack from the Wa-Elgoni, and Mr. Hall sent to have them brought in. Mr. Hall's men actually found the Wa-Elgoni assembled on the place ready for the attack - the usual method of which was to kill all the men and carry away the women and children. In a couple of shots dispersed them, and the Kenet party, numbering between 400 and 500 souls, were brought in to the Company's station. These people, Mr. Hall found, belonged to the Mosombora section of the tribe, and owing to a feud existing among the various sections of the Kenet and the treacherous attacks of the Wa-Elgoni, they had suffered heavily, and wished to live under the European 'Bwana'. Consequently Mr. Hall settled them on some ground near the fort where they could cultivate, and although they were entirely destitute, and it was evident that help from the Company's stores would be needed for some time, these people quite understood that they were to live by their own labour, and gratefully settled down to work. The Wa-Elgoni in the neighbourhood received them in a friendly way and supplied them with plenty of food." So Mr. Hall observing, but it was not long before the gratitude thus promptly given them. "These people would now be entrusted through the district as slaves to the Wa-Elgoni, and the men all killed and the boys of their farming years have under protection has had a decidedly depressing effect on the daring propensities of the Wa-Elgoni."

Kenet's Move

These Kenet worked for some two years near Port Smith and were then removed to Kipsing, where a temporary station was built.

Commencement of Work

In June, 1901, a Protectorate was established over Uganda, and that Province was defined as extending over the whole of the intervening territory from which the Imperial British East Africa Company had withdrawn its effective control. The whole of the country to the west of the northern limits of the Company's District of Elgon was then originally included in the Uganda Province, and, in fact, as remained until the 1st of April, 1902. The south of this division was that part of the Kenet tribe now to be found on the eastern borders of the Uganda Protectorate, while the Company retained control of the Kenet division and of that part around the Kipsing Hills and on the plains to the south and

On the 1st of July, 1895, the remainder of the British sphere between the Sondhiani and Uganda boundaries and the Tana River and Gosama frontier was placed under His Majesty's protection, and the area, together with those Protectorate which had previously been established on the part of the East Coast, were based into one administrative whole under the title of the "East Africa Protectorate." The western boundary of the Protectorate in the Masai country was the Kedong River, and while Ledgalia was in the East Africa Protectorate, Baringo, Njemps, Nakuru, Elmenteita and Naivasha were situated in Uganda. East Africa Protectorate

In November, 1895, a large caravan consisting of some 1,000 Swahilis and Kikuyu was set up by the Masai in the Kedong Valley on its return from Eldama Ravine, to which place it had been sent on Government duty. Nearly all the Swahilis lost their lives but a fair number of the Kikuyu escaped and returned the incident to Mr. Gibbons, the officer in charge of Fort Smith. Mr. Ainsworth, the Sub-Commissioner, left Machakos for Fort Smith and he, together with Mr. (now Sir Frederick) Jackson, who hurried there from Naivasha, conducted an enquiry into the matter, at which it was established that the Swahilis were the aggressors, the Masai having taken two girls from a Masai kraal. These had been handed back as a result of representations made by the Masai, but a renewed attempt to capture them had been made the following morning before the caravan started on its journey. This attempt was unsuccessful but a shot was fired in the village which killed a cow, and the Masai attacked the caravan as a retaliatory measure. Kedong massacre.

Mr. Andrew Dick, an English trader who was travelling in the neighbourhood in company with two Frenchmen at the time of the massacre, attacked the Masai and succeeded in capturing three from a number of cattle, but he was killed by the Masai as he attempt up the Kikuyu Escarpment. Mr. Andrew Dick.

As a result of the enquiry into these two incidents it was held that the Masai had been acting under such provocation that no great punishment was necessary. They had lost a considerable number of men in their encounter with Mr. Dick, and the only punishment that it was considered necessary to inflict was the confiscation of the cattle that had been captured from them by Mr. Dick, which cattle were paid to the relatives of the Kikuyu who had lost their lives in the massacre as compensation for the loss sustained.

One important result followed the "Kedong Massacre." Lenana, the Masai Laibon, who had for some time expressed his intention of visiting the Government officer at Fort Smith, had overcome the reluctance shown by his followers, and had actually arrived at that station just before the news of the massacre reached Mr. Gibbons. There he was instructed to stay until an enquiry had been held, but when the result of the enquiry was known he was so impressed with the impartial hearing given to the Masai witnesses, and with the justice of the decision, that he vowed allegiance to the British Government, a vow which he faithfully kept. British justice on this occasion gained the friendship of the most powerful man in the Masai tribe, and rendered his influence eternally loyal to the administration from that day to the day of his death. Lenana's first visit.

The Masai in the East Africa Protectorate were confined to the District of Ukamba, of which they occupied the southern portion, and inhabited the districts known as the Kisii or Kikuyu District. The following account is taken from Sir Arthur Hardinge's "Report on the Condition and Progress of the East Africa Protectorate from its Establishment to the 30th of July, 1897," and once again describes the fallen position of the Masai at that time:— The Masai in the East Africa Protectorate.

"The Masai consist of two entire tribe, the Baiyuku or Kisongore Masai, whose King or Chief is Lenana, and of the broken remnants of seven other tribes, the Dagoretti, Purko, Loguenli, Matapato, Kaputiei, Uldanda and Kapte Masai, who, after long tyrannising the whole country have at last been defeated and broken up by the superior force of the Wakamba and Wa-Kikuyu and, having had their old military organization utterly shattered, have accepted, and to a great

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extent are really controlled by the authority of the European district officers. It may seem strange that this race of brave and haughty warriors should have succumbed to either an inferior or even to military pressure as the Wakondo and Wa-Kikuyu, but the reason is to be found in the peculiar conditions of their mode of life.

"Once their very flocks and herds were decimated by the great cattle plague of a few years ago, the Masai, a purely pastoral people, were compelled by famine to depend, not partially as before, but exclusively, upon milk, and about half, or perhaps more, of the warriors of a given tribe would be absent for a long period on a foray, leaving the bomas, which with them, owing to the habits of the whole race for any material labour, is never constructed or provided with defensive works of any kind, protected by a few hundred men.

"The Wakondo, and, after the Masai were driven from Ulumbo, across into Kikuyu, the Wa-Kikuyu, would be on the watch for these raiding expeditions, and, as soon as one was met on the way, would swoop down on the undefended or only partially defended bomas in overwhelming numbers, and the raiders would return with their spoil only to find their homes in ashes, and the women and children whom they left behind them carried off to be sold as slaves.

"A constant repetition of these tactics, which their necessary dependence, after the famine, upon milk, prevented them from resisting, broke the power and prestige of the Masai, and those in the settled and cultivated portions of our Protectorate at least, with the single exception of Lenana's tribe, are now a mere feeble fragment of this once indomitable people.

"They are mostly settled at Ngongo Bagas, a few miles south of the district headquarters of Kikuyu, where they live under the supervision of an English officer.

"Lenana's tribe now have their headquarters at Nairobi, on the Uganda side of the border, Kisumgu, their summer quarters, being also under the Uganda administration, and though Lenana himself is said to wish to settle in the East Africa settlers' area in the Uganda Protectorate (though my self now he and his people have been in the habit of wandering from one to the other), it would probably be most convenient that he should not be encouraged to do so.

"Besides Lenana's, a section of the Nairobi Masai have followed his brother and rival for the Chief[illegible] Kendero, to the district known as Loita, on the German frontier, and pasture their cattle sometimes on open, unoccupied, but always, on the German side of the border. Kendero is said to be more hostile to Europeans than Lenana, and his attitude has of late given grounds for thinking that both we and the Germans might have trouble with him. There are also Masai tribes of whom, as yet, we know little or nothing, living on Kikuyu, near the base of Mount Kenia.

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"A Sabei tribe, or rather caste, formed out of various conquered and enslaved neighbouring tribes of Bantu race, constitutes the servile class among the Masai, and performs the necessary domestic and menial labour which the latter deem degrading. This race or caste is known as the Wakwafeni. Their occupation in the Masai is not Province of Ulumbo is said to be about 12 to 15%. They are generally paid in kind for their labour, and are free to hire themselves for meat and honey, but many also hold their cattle on the usual conditions even of the Masai. They are forbidden to marry Masai women, and their breeds are separate from those of their Masai masters. This is the only approach within the Province to any regular system of domestic slavery. Among the other races, each above or side are generally members of a neighbouring Bantu tribe, made prisoners in a raid.

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"These tribes are, however, fast diminishing, on the authority of our African doctors in nothing itself left, and Dr. Hamerton reports to me that, whereas in the years 1906 to 1908 not a month passed without serious fatalities to [illegible] while driving and above trading, he has only had to deal in the last twelve months with a few isolated cases, and more than three having occurred in the last quarter.

"The political and military organisation of the Masai has been so fully described by the various travellers, notably Mr. Thomson, who have made a study, that it is unnecessary for me in this report to reproduce the information which, without any greater knowledge than I can pretend to possess, have already appeared on this subject. There seems, so far, but little hope that this wild people will, as a whole, be weaned from their predatory mode of life, and induced to become peaceful cultivators: though a few of them settled at Nguruman have recently begun to take to agriculture, under the supervision of the local officials.

"The total number of the Masai in the Kenia district, including the Mandraletta, is estimated by Mr. Farrington at 30,000. There is one settlement at Nguruman [illegible] and "Kisonsos" or warriors under Mr. Farrington at "Logorone," and about 4,000 all told, women and children."

In another part of this report the Arthur Hastings writes as follows:-

"Mr. Hitchens, who is in charge of Kikuyu, introduced the practice of employing Masai runners to carry the mails, and they have proved, I believe, very satisfactory, covering the 100 miles of the third stage in five days. The average load now taken to transport the mails from Nairobi to the Uganda Border, a distance of 600 miles, is twenty days, or about 30½ miles a day. The weight of each load of mails is 30 lbs."

In a subsequent passage, dealing with the slave-trade, the Arthur Hastings writes:-

"The trade in Ukamba is confined to the district of Kitui, and is chiefly in Masai women and children.

"Its origin is as follows:- When the Masai of Mount Nyiro near Kenia, were decimated about four years ago by an epidemic of small-pox, following upon a severe cattle plague, which obliged their warriors to go long distances to sell for cattle, and thus have their trade almost annihilated, the Kikuyu people, their hereditary foes, fell upon them in overwhelming numbers, massacring them all save such as escaped with their women and children as slaves. These they are now selling at low rates, having spent all they had upon them, to local Arab or Swahili middlemen, who, driven by our settlement from from the coast, can only carry on their trade with safety in inland districts as yet unoccupied by us, and who resell the slaves thus purchased at a profit to the natives throughout eastern Ukamba, these latter people being all themselves free, and therefore requiring to be supplied with such slaves as they may want from other tribes.

"Some of the Masai girls are kept by their Swahili purchasers as concubines, and these, when they have learnt in a year or two enough Swahili to pass in the Swahili town as road women, will go down with their owners to the coast, where a few of them (not having been children) may be secretly sold to other Arabs or Swahilis, but Mr. Sub-Commissioner Hemsworth, who knows Ukamba well, assures me that they usually all remain in Kitui, and fetches thither fifty of them in a year with loads of

Referring again to the activities of Swahilis, the Arthur Hastings wrote:-

"In anticipation of trouble in this quarter, I sent reinforcements to Fort[illegible], and the simultaneous arrival of troops from Uganda at Fort[illegible] and at Nguruman from Nairobi seems to have induced Lenana to decline Swahili proposals, which, though primarily directed against the Germans, really aimed at a general rising against all European control."

[illegible]

In his report on the East Africa Protectorate, dated the 10th of June, 1913, Sir Charles Eliot describes the Masai as "perhaps the most remarkable people in East Africa. . . . The greater numbers are still wealthy nomads, who roam about the hills Yatta and the plains between Kibwezi Ukamba and Naivasha.

"The spread of law and order has somewhat curtailed their exploits, but they are still all warriors by profession. . . .

"The Masai are found in both German and British territory. When the last Chief, Mbatian, died, a dispute arose between his sons, Lenana and Sendeyo, as to the succession, and the tribe was divided. The former is now recognized as Chief of the Masai in the British sphere, and the latter of those in the German. Sendeyo has several times had trouble with the German authorities, but has always been defeated. Fortunately for us, Lenana's brother again advised him that he had better make peace with the white men, because they were invincible, and he has governed our Masai well and wisely ever since. In return, he receives Rs 12s. 4d. a month, which is a very moderate stipend for a monarch of such considerable powers, both real and imaginary. Though I see no reason to anticipate that Lenana will change his general attitude, I regard the Masai as the most important and dangerous of the tribes with whom we have to deal in East Africa, and I think it will long be necessary to maintain an adequate military force in the districts which they inhabit."

In this duty, the Masai in the East Africa Protectorate had been placed in a district of their own, called the Masailand District, whose headquarters were at Naivasha.

Railway of Uganda, Kenya, and East Africa Protectorate.

By an Order of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, dated the 4th of March, 1902, the Kisumu and Naivasha Provinces of the Uganda Protectorate were included in the East Africa Protectorate, and the Naivasha Masai therefore came under the control of the latter Protectorate.

Death of Mbatian.

The construction of the Uganda Railway was commenced in 1896, and the line reached the Lake in 1901. Throughout the construction period the Masai gave no trouble whatever to the workers on the line.

Sir C. Eliot, East Africa Protectorate, 1905.

In his report on the East Africa Protectorate, dated the 10th of April, 1905, Sir Charles Eliot writes:—

"I agree with those who do not think the Masai are a formidable element in East Africa. It would, of course, be unwise to irritate them, and there is always some danger of misunderstandings in dealing with a people of whose language we are profoundly ignorant. But in opposition to our rule, even within the last year, the Masai have become more amenable. They have taken to trading and labouring, and the astounding collections of cattle, which were common a few years ago, are now comparatively rare. Lenana even wears a greatcoat and is one of the judges at the Nairobi cattle show."

Later in his report he writes:—"The troops which are under the direct management of the Military Department of the Protectorate, have the full establishment of about fifteen hundred rifles. The composition of Nairobi is composed of Masai. There is no doubt of the martial prowess of this tribe under their own system, but without substantive rifles as a final qualification for service in a disciplined army. General Hunter's last report on their capabilities is favourable, and the only criticism we have is that they cannot stand service on the coast. There are many advantages in employing the Masai as soldiers and police, for they are little imbued by education, and if we can effectively enlist their genius for organization of cattle raiding, we could give them something else to do. In some ways they possess very high military qualities, and have better notions of honour and loyalty than most tribes, but it would probably be safe to treat the mass as Masai troops and Masai police in Masailand."

The following quotations are made from the Protectorate Annual Report for the year 1909 viz:— CAR* 175

"About the beginning of September last, it was reported that the Masai contemplated a withdrawal into the Kisii country; the adoption of passage customs, however, both in this province "(Ukamba)" and at Naivasha, prevented any carrying out of their intentions. Since that time they have been quiet, with the exception of a party belonging to the Mutegeria section, which recently organized a small expedition, some two or three months ago; the head concerned was fined, and the "Laigwanani" or head warrior, is now a fugitive, the raid having been unsanctioned. With the exception of these two incidents, the conduct of this tribe has been satisfactory. . . . . "

"Nothing of great political importance has occurred in this district" (Naivasha District, Rawlinson) "during the year. In the autumn of 1908, the Masai held a large circumcision festival on the plains of Kinangop (or Kinangop). This was attended by several thousand tribesmen, and it was thought by some that the event would be commemorated by the dispatch of a large party to raid Londiani, Kisii, and, possibly, the German territory on the back of Elgon. Though the idea was discredited by those on the spot, it was considered advisable to make a military demonstration in the neighbourhood of Naivasha to discourage any breaches of the peace. At any rate, the ceremonies on Kinangop passed over without incident. Curiously enough, about this time, a large war party of Masai did make a raid on the country east of Nairobi, but, owing to warnings sent by us in anticipation of such an event, little damage was done, and the raiders were dispersed by the German troops. Our German neighbours appeared to be under the impression that Sendeo organized this raid, but what "elmoran," or warriors, formed the war party seems to remain in obscurity. The elders of what may be termed the Naivasha Masai are undoubtedly loyal, and will do their best to discourage raids by the elmoran. [541]

"The executive officials in this district who may be considered to be in the confidence of the tribe, report that the elders discuss the question of raiding quite frankly, and often enquire what is to become of the poorer elmoran, who have no livestock, and thus cannot marry and settle down as "Elmoran," or Elders, and are raiding is forbidden, do not see how they are to acquire wealth. Numbers of these earn a bare livelihood by herding the property of their richer friends, others serve in the King's African Rifles and police here, and those in regular employment, steadily save enough to start them in married life. It is probable that a partial solution of this problem lies in the formation of a labour bureau, the object of which will be to find suitable employment for the poorer elmoran and "kidis," or youths, who have not attained the status of warrior." CAR* 175 3 MR 464

As distinct from the Masai Nyeros, the history of which forms the subject of Chapter III., the early history of the Masai contains little further of interest. The administrative steps which have been taken on their account from time to time have been treated separately in the following chapters, and Masai raids may be said to have ceased after the year 1904, the last year in which they carried out a successful expedition against another tribe in the Protectorate. Their more recent raids against German territory, are referred to in Chapter VII. Protectorate CAR* 175

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-Kwafi

Arusha-wa-juu. Others, driven south, threw in their lot with the Wa-reguha, keeping tribally more or less distinct from them. These are the hybrid tribes visited lately by the energetic missionaries, Messrs. Last and Baxter, and of which such interesting accounts have been given in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society." Another section of the Wa-kwafi was driven westward, and now forms the colonies of Ndarserria-ai and Ngurumo-ai. The establishment of these colonies has been an unmitigated blessing to the country. In every case they have become the centres of trade, where men's lives and goods are safe; and indeed there is no more striking feature in the results of the enforced change in the people's mode of life than the remarkable development of peaceable habits and honest ways. This shows what the Masai, from their distinctly higher mental development, are capable of, when cut away from their traditions and brought under conditions more favourable to their advancement towards civilization. As throwing light on the origin of minor races and the blending of two distinct types as at Taveta, the subject is an interesting study.

The Wa-kwafi were not all scattered thus, however, for a large division of the clan kept together, and contrived to cut their way through Kikuyu and to reach Lykipia, where they settled.

Another section crossed the meridional trough and reached the opposite half of the plateau in Guas' Ngishu. In both districts they found superb grazing-grounds and plenty of elbow-room, and there for a time they remained quietly, and increased rapidly in numbers. At last their wars began again. Grown bold, they attacked the Masai about fifteen years ago. The opposing parties formed regular camps, and fought pitched battles with great fury, thousands being killed on both sides. The women stood by and watched, while they incited and urged on the combatants in their terrible hand-to-hand encounters. The Masai were at first beaten, but, fighting with the stubbornness of despair, they disputed every foot of ground. They were driven from the whole of Naivasha and Kinangop, and their enemies, still victorious, carried the war into Kapté. Matters now changed, however. The Masai of the entire region to the south gathered together and came to the assistance of their brethren of Kapté. Soon the tables were turned, and the Wa-kwafi were gradually forced back. The great majority of them

6:Thomson J.-3 (1883-1884)1887
F122 Masai F122

were killed, and the cattle driven off. Famine came upon them, and they were reduced to the terrible necessity of selling their children. Large numbers took refuge at Njemps and Nyiro, where they had to bow themselves to the exigencies of the soil. The war lasted several years. At last only a remnant of the Wa-kwafi of Lykipia were left, and these contrived to make peace. Not so fortunate were those of Gnare Nyiobo. The Masai swept from north to south, and left not a man in the entire land, those who escaped the spear and sword finding refuge in Kavirondo.

Such is the history of the bloody feud between the Masai clans. Now they live peaceably together, with kraals in friendly proximity.

Having thus conveyed to the reader some general notions about the tribe as a whole, we may now conveniently turn to follow with the eye of our imagination the life-history of one of its members.

Very many years ago a matron of the Masai lay in what is pleasingly described as an "interesting condition." Her environment was not of a luxurious or even comfortable nature. She lay on no better a bed than a dressed bullock's hide spread on the bare ground. The hut which protected her from the blazing sun or the cold night was not built on sanitary principles, and was not commodious. It reached a maximum height of three feet and a half, and might be nine feet long by five feet broad. It was constructed of boughs bent over and interwoven together, forming a flat-roofed building with rounded corners. To keep out the wind a composition of cow's dung was liberally plastered over the boughs. This sufficed for the dry season, but for the rainy one a further covering of hides had to be laid upon it. The doorway was of the smallest, and stood at right angles to the line of the house in the manner of a porch. The hut of the expectant Masai lady was one of a circle enclosing a considerable area, in which the cattle were kept during the night. As this central space was never swept up, its condition may be better imagined than described. The smells were strikingly suggestive of the farmyard; and if the reader is so inclined, he may imagine some charming picture of full-uddered kine, with their mild eyes and expression of repose as they contentedly chew the cud. For any such picture, however, I can accept no responsibility. Outside the circle of huts there extends a strong fence of thorns as a protection from wild beasts, and in case of an attack. Inside

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SECTION VII

THE MASAI EXTRA PROVINCIAL DISTRICT

GENERAL NOTE

The Masai area constitutes an Extra Provincial District under an Officer in Charge, holding the powers of a Provincial Commissioner, with two District Commissioners, stationed at Kajiado and Narok. The legislation in force in other parts of the Colony applies to the District, but the Outlying District Ordinance, No. 25 of 1911, has also been applied to it, in order to provide a means for controlling immigration from other tribes, a matter to which, as will be subsequently shown, much importance is attached by Masai tribesmen. The area of the District is 13,277 square miles and the population was estimated in 1948 at 55,000.[1] The density is thus 3.4 per square mile.

The Masai District contains in its more northern section a considerable area of land which ranks for agricultural or pastoral purposes with parts of the neighbouring Highlands reserved for Europeans use, though it is to be noted that the rainfall here is more variable than in the central part of the Highlands. The lower parts of the District have a lower and even more variable rainfall, with the result that there is an area, conservatively estimated at a little over 5,000 square miles, which is arid and for all practical purposes waterless.[2] But the value of the large area held by the Masai is not to be judged by its agricultural possibilities, for if the Masai no longer justify the character assigned to them by history as "a virile tribe of predatory nomads," they have at all events maintained their traditional habit of life as a pastoral people, and though there is some cultivation in the Naivasha-Ngare area and also near Ngong, this forms only an infinitesimal part of the District, and is for the most part carried out by Kikuyu immigrants on behalf of the local Masai.

It is of interest to note that in 1904 the number of cattle was estimated at only 300,000 and the sheep and goats at 600,000. This may have been an underestimate, though it must be realized that the country was still in some measure suffering from the effects of the great rinderpest epidemic of 1891, which had entailed such catastrophic results both on the numbers and the military power of the Masai. By 1913 the estimate had gone up to 600,000 head of cattle and over a million and half sheep and goats.[3] The Masai herds suffered severely in the droughts of 1933 and 1934, when their losses of cattle were estimated at over a quarter of a million. But a recent estimate has put the number of cattle at over 300,000, with 600,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys. The further increase in the number of cattle is to some extent affected by the existence of fly, which is prevalent on the South Kavirondo boundary, in the extreme west, and also in the middle area, where the Kajiado and Narok Districts join. But if the present estimate of the stock is correct,

[1] Kenya Colony Blue Book, 1948, page 122.
[2] There is a summary of the physical conditions of the district by L. Jones at page 28 of Africa, January, 1939, together with a useful bibliography.
[3] Administrative and Political History of the Masai District, C. R. Swallow, 1918, page 2.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

was further complicated by the fact that at stated intervals, normally about 15 years, power passed from the hands of the representatives of one Age Group in each Section into those of the succeeding Age Group, there being thus an alternation of authority in each Section between the Right Hand and Left Hand Groups.

To quote Sir Charles Eliot again, the consequence of the traditional structure of Masai society was that "the centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship. The chiefs arranged the details of any raids which the young men wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight." The nearest approach to a central and superior authority was to be found in the Chief Medicine-Man (Laibon), though his authority was based mainly on the discharge of his magical functions.[1] The medicine-men were divided into three grades, of which the first grade was represented by the person of the Laibon, the Chief Medicine-Man of the tribe, and his guidance was held to be of the first importance in any major operation which the tribe might undertake.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE NATIVE AUTHORITY SYSTEM

It is unnecessary to dwell here on the circumstances which for a prolonged period made the Masai a standing menace to the peace of their neighbours. The tribe seems to have reached the height of its power between 1800 and 1850, when it overran Kenya and part of Tanganyika.[2] There were subsequently severe internal dissensions among the Masai, which resulted in two of their five "divisions" being practically destroyed and there was also great mortality as a result of the outbreak of rinderpest and smallpox in the 'eighties of last century. But even though their strength was much reduced, their predatory habits continued to be a matter of grave concern in the early days of the Colony, and seemed in particular to threaten the progress of European settlement. Among the Masai themselves strong feelings were aroused by the measures, taken largely in the interest of European settlers, designed to counteract the propensity of the tribesmen to roam widely in search of fresh grazing grounds, as the result of which they were restricted to a Northern Reserve (Laikipia) and a Southern Reserve, separated from the Northern Reserve by a broad belt of country occupied by European farms. That was the position at the time of the Masai Agreement of 1904, but it subsequently became the policy of the Kenya Government to move the tribesmen to the Northern Reserve into the Southern Reserve, which was to be largely augmented to area for this purpose.[3]

In view of the terms of the Agreement of 1904, the assent of the Masai was required for this transfer, and the operation was one of obvious difficulty. In the circumstances it was not unnatural that the Government should have availed itself of the influence exercised by the Chief Medicine-Man, the Laibon Lenana. He had inherited from his father, Mbatian, who died in 1890, a position which commanded general respect, and he himself took a leading position on behalf of the tribe in the discussions which led up to the Agreement of 1904, which he signed as "Chief Laibon." He was subsequently recognized

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[1] The word laibon appears to be a Europeanized form of the Masai word l'oibonok (pl. i). Hollis, The Masai, 1905, page 261.
[2] Land Commission Report, Vol. II (Kenya only).
[3] The Laikipia Reserve, consisting of 2,000 square miles. An additional 6,000 square miles was to be added to the Southern Reserve.

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by the Government as the Paramount Chief of the Masai, a title which was in 1911 continued to his son Sogi. It was as Paramount Chief that Sogi, through his Regent Lenjokine, signed the Agreement of 1911, which recorded the acceptance by the Masai of the move from Laikipia to the Southern Reserve.

But Lenana himself never seems to have claimed a position of sovereignty, nor was it ever accorded to him by the tribe. Sogi proved to be lacking in the qualities of his father, and such influence as he possessed was confined to the small Section of which he was a member, while the more important Sections, such as the Purko, either refused to recognize him or entered into contempt. In 1918, therefore, the Government withdrew his recognition as Paramount Chief. Apart, however, from any question of the personal capacity of Sogi, it is obvious that the social structure of the Masai had no place for the conception of chieftainship in the form existing in the traditional organization of those Bantu tribes which have a "centralized" system of Government. In the latter, the fundamental principle is the recognition of a tribal head, with authority devolved on territorial subchiefs, and supported on the allegiance of headmen representing other kinship groups or village units. In such an organization the authority possessed by the headmen is as essential an element as that of the Chief and his subchiefs—a fact which is sometimes overlooked by those whose contact with a tribe is primarily through these more conspicuous figures. All these features of the normal Bantu tribal organization were missing in the structure of Masai society.

Following the abolition of the post of Paramount Chief in 1918, the Government endeavoured to find agencies for local administration in the promotion of three institutions, a Central Masai Council, a series of 19 Native Councils each representing a different tribal Section, and Headmen, created as far as possible on the model of the Lumbwa Headmen found elsewhere in the Colony. The Central Masai Council or Ngong was composed of the presidents of the Native Councils and was to meet twice a year. The 19 Native Councils were designed to take the place of the informal Councils of Elders to which reference has previously been made. They were recognized as tribunals exercising powers under the Native Tribunal Rules of 1913, and were moreover given the position occupied by Collective Headmen under the Native Authority Ordinance then in force (No. 10 of 1912). The members of these Councils consisted of the recognized Councillors (3 Ingonenak) of the different Age Grades in the divisions, with a few of the more influential Elders and Morans added. Morans (Ilmurran) were not ordinarily admitted to these Councils of Elders, but as the Elders did not themselves possess any great measure of control over the Morans, it was thought that the appointment of their leading warriors might help to improve the situation. These appointments would, however, only be temporary, owing to the custom already mentioned, under which an Age Grade of Morans held its position only for a specified period in each Section, giving place to a new Age Grade at the end of that time. The presidents of these Councils were chosen from the Ingonenak by the Masai themselves.

The greatest difficulty was, as foreseen at the time, encountered in regard to the appointment of Headmen. These were not necessarily Elders, but were chosen as possessing wealth or influence, and were given the position accorded to headmen by the Native Authority Ordinance No. 10 of 1912. But there were two obstacles to their effective discharge of these powers. The areas which they were selected to control were not Locations with a settled population, as in most other parts of Kenya, but groups of semi-nomadic tribesmen, and their

9: Hailey C-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

authority always tended to break down in face of the lawless and independent spirit of the Morans. In 1918 the Headmen numbered 46, of whom 28 were unpaid, and 18 received pay ranging from £6 to £36 a year, the former Paramount having a special pay of £90. Fourteen of the 18 paid Headmen were presidents of the Native Councils, and following the custom adopted in many other parts of Kenya, they were given the courtesy title of Chief.

SUBSEQUENT CHANGES IN THE SYSTEM

In the period that has passed since this system was introduced, there have been changes which have to some measure affected the structure of Masai society. The economic exercised on cattle raiding has robbed the military organization of its former importance, while the growing value of cattle and sheep has enhanced the position of the wealthier stockholders, who now constitute, together with some men of hereditary prestige, an aristocratic element with an acknowledged leadership in Masai society. In other respects the Masai hold tenaciously to their customary institutions and mode of life, and the Morans in particular retain the tradition of indiscipline (in all but a military sense) and the aversion to labour which characterized them in the past.

The Government has in the interval effected changes also in the system of native administration above referred to, with the view of adjusting it more nearly to the pattern followed in other parts of Kenya. The Central Masai Council and the 14 Native Councils gave place in 1939 to two Local Native Councils, at Narok and Kajiado, which have now been formally constituted under the provisions of the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937. The system of tribunals has also been revised, as will be further explained below.[1] The Headmen have been divided into two grades, Headmen and subheadmen, of whom the former have the courtesy title of Chief. They now derive their powers from the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937.

The 16 Headmen have a pay ranging from 150. to 70s. a month, and the 28 subheadmen a pay ranging from 10s. to 30s. per mensem. Practically all the Headmen or subheadmen are stockholders, and represent the ruling Age-Grade in each of the different Sections; very few of them are educated or literate and only a few can speak Swahili. The Headmen and subheadmen constitute the executive agency of the District administration and of the Local Native Councils, and they are in addition charged with the collection of the native Poll Tax. That is a task which they are said to discharge with some efficiency, though as will be shown subsequently in dealing with the administration of the Tribunals, there are numerous cases of the evasion of tax. The Chiefs can call on the services of a small number of Tribal Police, recruited and controlled by the District Commissioners. Up to 1943 the Tribal Police were the only force of this nature in the Province, but since that year a unit of the Kenya Police Force has been stationed in the Narok district, largely in view of the prevalence of stock thefts.

THE LOCAL NATIVE COUNCILS

Of the two Local Native Councils, that at Narok has 10 nominated and 15 elected members, and that at Kajiado 10 nominated and 14 elected. There is, however, little difference in practice between the nominated and elected members, since all are in fact selected by the District Commissioner after

[1] Page 173.

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Mbugwe are Bantu. There is also a small group of Turuiga, leading virtually a bushman life in the Lake Eyasi basin, to whom reference was made in Section I.[1] There would appear to have been a movement both northward and eastward on the part of the tribes, who were previously contained in a very small area by the Masai invasion of the early part of the century.

THE MASAI DISTRICT

The Masai District forms the southern portion of the large block of country in Tanganyika and Kenya, extending to no less than 115 million acres in extent, occupied by the Masai tribe, whose numbers were given in the 1931 Census as 48,043 in Kenya and as 47,178 in the 1948 Census in Tanganyika. There will be found in the Chapter dealing with Kenya Colony further reference to the tribal characteristics of the Masai, and it will be sufficient to give here only those facts which bear in particular on the position they occupy in Tanganyika.[2]

The southern movement of this tribe from the neighbourhood of Lake Rudolf seems to have come to an end about the middle of last century, but its spearheads had in 1850 penetrated as far south as the Great Ruaha River and even to Ulanga in the Iringa District, whence they were driven back by the Gogo and Hehe. There were many isolated Masai raids after that time, but these were in the main carried out by Kenya Masai, whose incursions were directed towards the coastal areas on the east, and indeed took them on occasion as far as Mombasa. The Masai settled in Tanganyika do not seem to have attempted a further movement of any importance into the neighbouring areas of the Territory.

The Anglo-German Agreement of 1890 cut the Masai country into two parts, roughly equal in area, though the population remaining under the British jurisdiction was somewhat larger than that which fell under German rule. The result was to make an effective division between the Kenya and Tanganyika Masai, and though the two sections have retained a community of racial interest, this has not extended to the political field. Such political unity as the Masai people possessed had existed largely for war purposes, and in peace time political as apart from religious authority was dispersed among the headmen exercising control over the groups having a customary right of pasturage in particular localities. There was moreover lacking in the case of the Tanganyika Masai a motive which might have led them to identify themselves with the Kenya Masai, namely, the need for protecting their lands from alienation by Government for the benefit of Europeans. The troubles created in Kenya by the efforts of Europeans to secure possession of Masai lands[3] were not repeated in Tanganyika, where the Masai have remained undisturbed in the occupation of the country they held at the period when European rule was established.

The present Masai District comprises, in the north, the Loliondo area, the dominant feature of which is the vast farmyard plain, with the distant volcanoes which mark its southern end. To the centre, south of the Rift Wall, the plateau type of country is characterized by volcanic hill masses, which provide a number of permanent water sources. In the South lie extensive thorn scrub steppes, with a low and very variable rainfall.

Practically the whole of the area included in the District is used only for pastoral purposes. If tradition is correct in holding that the tribe was once

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[1] See page 108.
[2] Page 288, Chapter IX.
[3] See the Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, C. H. Stafford, 1919.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Manal FL12

grades, which has resulted in marking off the whole of the younger men, roughly up to the age of twenty-seven or thirty, as a warrior class (morans) who are not only free from most obligations to work, but are independent in many other aspects of tribal discipline. Though therefore authority has rested nominally with the Elders (laigwenak) who have passed the stage of morans, and with the Councils of Elders who formed a regular feature of the Masai tribal usage, these Councils have not in the past nor are they to-day able to enforce decisions which may affect the younger men. It is true that the Elders have recently made decisions, accepted by the morans themselves, which will limit the period of moran-hood and many provide the morans with work on betterment schemes, but it still remains to be seen how far these will be effective in providing a solution for a problem of which the economic is no less serious than the social aspect.

Attempts were at one time made in Tanganyika, as also in Kenya, to utilise the Laibon, the spiritual head of the Tanganyika Masai, as Native Authority. But the Masai themselves objected to his occupying this position, and as the result of a Sociological Survey made by H. A. Fosbrooke in 1948, the system was altered. The gazetted Native Authority then became the Masai Council, which in practice consisted of Headmen and Elders, and apparently also of any tribesmen outside the moran age grade who cared to attend. But this Council was in effect only a consultative body, without any practical authority, and since the Headmen were not gazetted as Native Authorities, they had no legal power to issue Orders under Section 8 of the Native Authority Ordinance.

A further reorganisation has now been carried out. Each area now has its own Local Council, with locally elected representatives of age grades and clans, and these Councils have been gazetted as Subordinate Native Authorities. Representatives from each Local Council, differing in numbers in accordance with the size and population of the area involved, compose the Masai Council, which is the Superior Native Authority for the whole Masai District, excluding Sonjo. The Council is now limited to these representatives: there is, however, provision for the addition of morans or uninitiated members if and when advisable. The Local Councils have begun to exercise their Order making powers under Section 8 of the Native Authority Ordinance. There are 41 paid Headmen, chosen by members of their own age grade.

There is a Masai Native Treasury, which however is managed entirely by the District Commissioner. The small Sonjo tribe has a Council of Sonjo Headmen, which is gazetted as a Native Authority, and has a separate Treasury.

THE WORKING OF THE NATIVE AUTHORITY SYSTEM

The variety of conditions is so great that it is difficult to generalise on the operation of the system of native administration in the Province as a whole. There are, however, certain points of special significance. The recent reorganisation in the Chagga Native Authority area has placed in a superior position those Chiefs who already had a high status in view of the number of taxpayers in their jurisdiction, but its future success will depend on the extent to which these Chiefs can secure the co-operation of the more progressive elements who have now been brought within the framework of the system, as members of the new Divisional Councils. This is especially necessary, in view of the character of Chagga society, for though the Chagga are probably the

9:Forbrooke G-8 (1936-1968) 1948 FL:1 Masai FL:1
Kisenko

and Lumbwa were indistinguishable, merely two sub-tribes of a pastoral tribe, indulging in civil war; c.f. Krapf[1] the two kindred tribes the Wakuafi and the Masai hate each other mortally, which is, however, a fortunate circumstance for the weaker African tribes"; Thomson also regards the Masai and Kwavi as two sections of the same pastoral tribe, and records in detail the ascendancy of the former. As he was writing fifty years ago, when all phases of the civil war were well within living memory, his account may certainly be accepted as correct. Elliot's suggestion that the nomads are offshoots from an agricultural Masai tribe is also discounted by legends recorded since he wrote, notably that of the exodus.

The first part of this section, dealing with events occurring prior to those within living memory, may well be closed with a review of the state of affairs circa 1900, a survey of the tribes disposessed by the Masai, and an examination of any evidence throwing light on the era prior to Masai invasion. Sabei, who died about 1900, was settled at Laikwine, below the present District Office at Mondul, with Sankuraika as his main rejon. He was surrounded by members of the Dogidong clan at Mosi, Sogore ol Mokenyi and Olgeija Lolore. The Arusha were established on the slopes of Mount Meru, and the Masai effectively occupied an area corresponding closely to their present boundaries. They had suffered a severe famine about 1890, but owing to the warlike efforts of the Ilait (Iwuti) age the country was by this time fully restocked. The Kisongun, a few of whom are alive to-day (1936), were carrying on border wars with the Ngasa, Gogo and Mbulu tribes, and it is doubtful whether Kavirondo, Taitamai or Kikuyu were as yet in Masai hands. On the other hand, they at this time possessed areas now lost to them, as for example the country between the east bank of the Kuru and the Pare Hills, extending as far south as Swiloa, the almost-not reserved areas around Kilimanjaro, Meru and Mondul, and the country between the Naberera-Kikuyu road and the Kendoa Hills, now lost to "Ki".

To the west of, and also immediately below the Rift Wall, the country was probably inhabited by at least three tribes, the il Dariwa lol Orokaibo (Wakuafi ?), the il Dariwa lol Kuroo (Wagogo ?) and the Sonjo. It seems likely that at any rate some of these tribes practised agriculture under irrigation, but that they possessed cattle also is almost certain. The Ebenyore area, as shewn above, was in possession of the Ariaro, a pastoral tribe, whilst the Mondul, Wawandoi, Sogore Parsyuki and Simenjiro areas were occupied by the Dgishale, again pastoralists, said to have been akin to the Masai.

Further south, Masai tradition of previous habitation, except for the various tribes of Dorobo, is lacking, owing to the fact that the Lumbwa and not the Masai entered the previous occupants, if any. It is possible that the Ngasa and Barungi tribes extended slightly further to the north than they do at present, but existing climatic conditions indicate that, in most, these people have lost no more than a few border waters to the Masai.

9:Forbrooke G-5 (1936-1968) 1948 FL12 Maasi FL12 Kisanke

G34 junior ages are concerned, beginning to regard themselves as a unit. Ngorongoro is another area where armour conditions pertain.

C. **Recent History: Famine — civil war — German Policy.**

● 1795 Again taking up the thread of history, the period 1880 to 1900 is regarded by the Maasi as one of prosperity. Mbatian was the laibon at this time; it was he who called up the Moite Maasi to fight the Uasingishu and Lukipsak sub-tribes. But the period was mainly occupied with wars and raids against neighbouring tribes: the devastating effects of such raids, as noted by early explorers, are graphically illustrated by extracts from their writings reproduced in the " Administrative History".

1795 But about 1890 the Maasi were visited by the triple misfortune of famine, smallpox and rinderpest. Whole families, together with their 796 stock, were wiped out. In some cases the survivors lived by hunting or agriculture; in others they were adopted into, or carried off into captivity by, neighbouring tribes. The tribe was in fact scattered from Lake Victoria to the Coast. But such was the urge to the nomadic pastoral life that, in the course of the next few years, most of the wanderers returned, and from their earnings or stealings commenced to build up new herds.

1795 During the famine Mbatian died, and the tribe was divided by civil 665 war. For two of Mbatian's sons, Lenana and Sendeyo, were rivals for the position of laibon. The former had a following of Purko and other sections, the latter was backed up by the Loita. After various skirmishes round Ngong, Sendeyo turned south, and his Loita beat in turn the Laitayok, Salei and Serenget of the Loitokitok area, thus finishing up at Ngorongoro. From there they descended to Kisongo, some of the Loita spreading to Longido and Olmolog. At one time Sendeyo himself lived at Loliondo, but later returned to Ngorongoro. When below the Rift he had numerous skirmishes with the Germans and also with the Kisongo, supported by the Purko. His final defeat was brought about by a clever flanking movement; the Kisongo, by this time recovering from the effects of the famine, approached Lenana, who agreed to send his Purko from the north, via Loliondo, whilst the Kisongo attacked from the east. Thus both parties would converge on Sendeyo at Ngorongoro. When Sendeyo heard of this, he saw that the struggle was hopeless and fled by night to Lenana to admit defeat. Lenana allowed him to return as laibon to the Loita section.

1795 An important feature of recent history is the policy which the German 648 Government pursued in relation to the Maasi. When they first made contact with the tribe, the Maasi of Tanganyika, being restricted by the famine, must have been very few in number. The area south of the Mbulu—Arusha—Moshi road was therefore thought sufficient as a Maasi Reserve, and the objective was to keep Monduli, Longido, Ngorongoro and Loliondo areas free for alienation. This meant that the Laitayok and Kisongo Loita of Loliondo, the Salei and Serenget west of the Rift, the Kimwaki of north Mbulu and Monduli, the Dighirori of Ilarusa and the Siangaru of Longido, were all debarred from their grazing grounds. During the war, when this policy was relaxed, the various sections began to

9:Pamphlets G-4 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
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responsible and others, each in its own area. But the Moilo section seems to have flourished above all others and paramount, during and after the war, into areas which had never before been in its possession.

The details of this period of famine, civil war and European intervention have not been recorded at length, but it is hoped that sufficient has been said to drive home the point that the period 1880 to 1900 was one of great upheaval for the Tanganyika Masai. The most obvious effect of this was the break-up and reintergrowth of many of the sections, together with the law of the location which held these sections together and generally of political cohesion. Only time can bring about a reorientation in accordance with the present distribution of population.

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Another aspect of the above historical review should also be borne in mind. It is almost impossible to find at the present day an elder who did not go through considerable hardship in his youth. To anyone who has lost and regained a possession, such possession is of greater value, at least sentimentally. The Masai of Tanganyika lost their cattle, their mode of living and their tribal life, and largely by their own efforts have now again regained them. It is suggested that their intense conservatism and resentment of change may perhaps be better understood in the light of the foregoing.

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For clarity this historical section is concluded with a chronological chart showing the main events and personalities referred to.

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART.

Age	Approx. date of circumcision	Important Events
[illegible]	[illegible]	Members of this age can be remembered by living elders. Sidai belonged to this age.
[illegible]	[illegible]	Masai penetrated to Uasgara.
[illegible]	[illegible]	Conquered Wanyara from Ankole.
[illegible]	[illegible]	Took Kalenjin from the Kwavi. Kibaia (the original Wairaka) brought up from Ankole Chief. Capture of Engaruka.
[illegible]	[illegible]	Captured Lumbwa, Moilo and Kikuyu from Kwavi. Drove Dorobo from Ngorongoro Highlands. Mbatian belonged to this age.
[illegible]	[illegible]	One or two members of this age still alive. Took Kwavis from Dorobo. Death of Sidai.
[illegible]	[illegible]	Moilo Masai rallied up by Mbatian for Lathighak war. Capture of Tulamai and Kikuyu.
[illegible]	[illegible]	Peace made between Masai and Kwavi at Ilaroi. Death of Mbatian. Famine, rinderpest and smallpox. Lumbwa and Nandyus belonged to this age.
[illegible]	[illegible]	Civil war between Lumbwa and Nandyus. Final contact with European administration. Peace generated by this age, though actually Nandyus.

9:Pookrooke G-8 (1936-1968) 1968 FL12 Maasi FL12
Kisonko

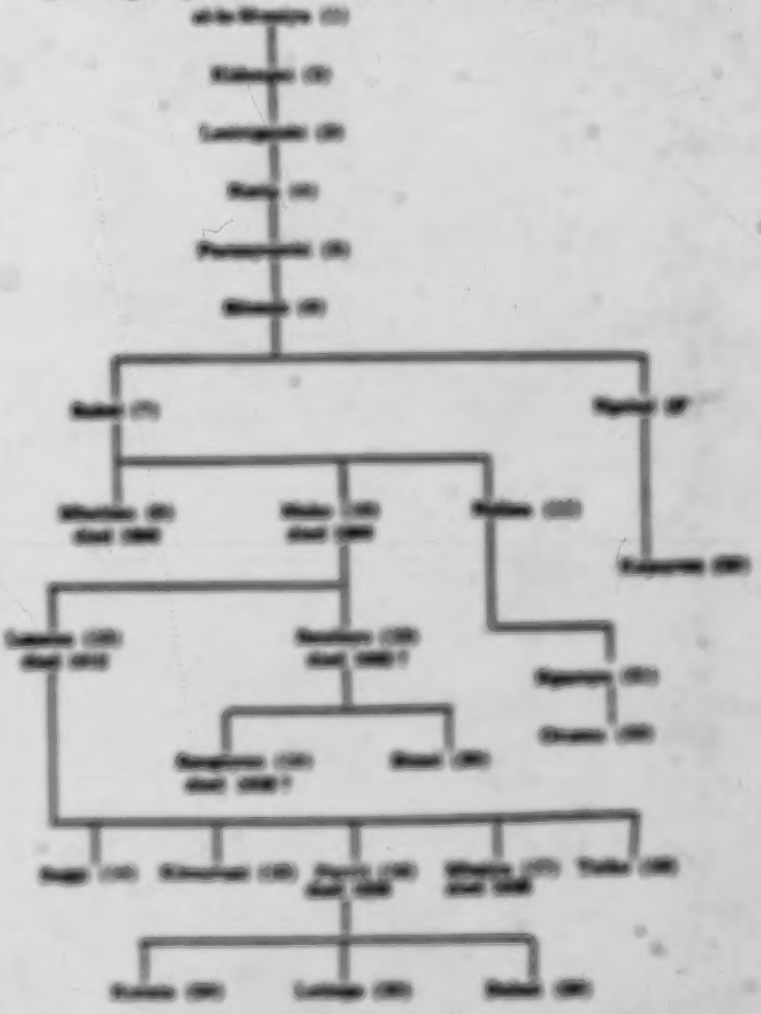
175
564

DARETO	1911	Death of Lenana. The Great War. Fight between Dwori and Dareto at Ini Kiseli. Return of Ishoni to Tanganyika. Mbaiya belonged to this age.
KISALE	1936	Death of Parit.
		Death of Sendeyo.
MERIDIO	1968	Death of Mbaiya.

175
911

GENEALOGY OF THE LABOUR FAMILY.

Showing only those who attained political importance.



680 D. Sworn Fox.—*Further Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony.*

938 a small legacy of a few cattle to anyone he likes, but the bulk of his property must be inherited according to the above rules.

933. 934 *Women's Property.*—As a general rule a woman cannot own cattle herself, but holds them in trust for her husband. I have twice come across exceptions to this :—

(a) A woman who had given the profession of a doctor (i.e. native herbalist) and had received cattle in payment.

(b) A woman who had amassed wealth outside and independently of the tribe.

Household utensils such as gourds, hides, and donkey saddles belong to the women of the house.

175 791 648 639 *Laibon* (Masai, 'I-Oibonok).—Hollis, pp. 328-330, gives the history of the *Laibons* up to the beginning of the present century. I will therefore briefly summarise their more recent history.

Lenana was made paramount chief of the Masai in Kenya Colony by the Government. He died in 1911. Some people thought that his brother Sendeyo had bewitched him, but little evidence need be attached to this opinion. He appointed his small son Seggi to succeed him. As Seggi was a minor, Ngunya, son of Sidai, first cousin to Lenana, was appointed as regent. Between the years 1911 and 1922 it was the Kenya Government's policy to curtail the powers of the *Laibons*. Seggi grew up a weak and invisible person, who has little authority, and is more often drunk than sober. At one time he was deposed from paramount chieftainship for persistent inebriety, but was subsequently re-appointed to be paramount *chief* of the Kajiado District only.

His brother, Kimaroni, is *Laibon* of the Purko section. He is a weak character, but straightforward and honest. He is very unintrusive owing to his desire to avoid more important than his character warrants him to be.

Ngunya is now a very old man. He is *Laibon of the Kaloneyoki* section. Sendeyo is *Laibon* of the Loita section. He was deported to Meru in 1922, it having been alleged that he was implicated in the rising of the Il Kitoig age-group of the Purko at the end of 1921. He was allowed to return to Loita in 1929 and still lives there, much loved and respected.

Whereas in Kenya the power of the *Laibons* has been much reduced since Lenana's death, and councils of elders have been created to try and take their place in the government of the tribe, in Tanganyika Territory the authority of the *Laibon* has been upheld and he is regarded as the paramount chief. I believe that the system has worked well. Until recently their *Laibon* was Parit, a son of Lenana. Parit is now dead, and a minor, whose name escapes me, has succeeded him.

In Pl. XIII, Fig. 1, is seen a photograph of Seggi holding in his hand the bronze club of his grandfather, Mbatian, and the iron club of his father, Lenana (see Hollis, pp. 329 and 330). Mbatian's bronze club is at present in my possession, but should be returned to one of his descendants at some future date.

Tatoga FINAL

***

TRIBAL HISTORY

[illegible] when [illegible] the Sirikwa, was found on the Uasin Gishu [illegible] and on an [illegible] ground, the Sirikwa were at least in some [illegible] middle of the 17th century. The Maasai [illegible] were at the height of their power [illegible] about 1800 and 1891. They raided for cattle and [illegible] and other places on the coast were not safe from them. In addition [illegible] and at times the two [illegible] their enemy Nandi tribes, notably the Kipsigis, and to a lesser extent the Cigir, Suk, Turkana, and others, against their own [illegible], and even [illegible]. To the Maasai, however, must be given the credit for preserving [illegible] of [illegible] the highlands from the early trade, for no [illegible] could get through without their permission, and the road was often closed for months on end. Peace [illegible] the Il-Purko-Kaba were defeated by the Il-Kidinyo at Nyuki, the beginning of the overthrow of the tribe which was completed some 10 years later by an alliance between the Il-Kidinyo and Il-Kisongo, the dominant [illegible] tribe of Nyuki. The Kisongo started the southern limit of their expansion about 1850, their way being blocked by the Nandi of Tinderet-Kamasia [illegible] and about the time the Maasai and Cigir came into conflict over grazing grounds, the Maasai being successful as long as they kept to the plains. In the middle of the century the Dorobo were found south by the Turkana, and the survivors of a section called Il-Chegin turning into their cattle [illegible] to agriculture at Kisumu near Lake Baringo. About 1880 the great rinderpest epidemic spread over much of East Africa, and the herds of the Kalenjin and Lumbwa Maasai suffered heavily from it. In 1883 an outbreak of smallpox [illegible] the numbers of the Maasai already [illegible] by [illegible] war, and they became a prey to the Kikuyu, but the Europeans on [illegible] of the century, the Maasai would have been reduced to extinct [illegible] the combined attacks of disease and human enemies. In the south, about 1885, at Naivasha, the great [illegible] of the Lukiji, the central Maasai were split by the Ilmoran [illegible] the west, Il-Laimer (Laimer) and Sonjoo, over the succession. Both of the Lukiji and Kisongo supported Il-Laimer, but Sonjoo was successful for a time. At the Il-Purko joined the Loikopsero of Il-Laimer, and Sonjoo was eventually defeated and forced to seek peace. Three other tribes in the Naivasha district had [illegible] Sonjoo, which [illegible] some idea of the state of disunity into which the people had been thrown during their decline.

CULTURAL SUMMARY

The Nandi and Maasai form a distinct cultural group, but the Suk, though they share certain of these features, have an [illegible] ability with the Kalenjin culture that they stand alone in the Nandi group from the cultural point of view. Certain features of these cultures are distinctive, and can best be shown in tabular form:

	Kalenjin (Nandi, Kipsigis and Tugen)	Suk	Maasai and Njemps
[illegible]	Yes	Yes	No
[illegible]	Yes	Yes	No
[illegible]	Yes	Yes	No
[illegible]	Yes	Yes	No
[illegible]	Yes	Yes	No
[illegible]	Yes	Yes	No
[illegible]	No	Yes	Yes

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The 1948 census gives the following figures:

		Male	Female	Total
Kenya	Rural	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Nairobi	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Mombasa	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Z'Bar&Pe.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

* Estimated.

		Male	Female	Total
Tanganyika Territory	Arusha	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Moshi	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Mbulu	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Kondoa	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Dodoma	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total for Mandated Area		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

This shows only a small increase over the 1931 estimate for the Kenya Masai, when 10,000 Dorobo are deducted; but it doubles the previous estimate for the Dorobo and shows a substantial increase in the Tanganyika Masai.

The livestock estimates for the Kenya Masai are:

	Cattle	Goats and sheep	Donkeys
1918	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1948	[illegible] to 1,000,000	[illegible]	[illegible]

The figures for cattle among the Tanganyika Masai are 800,000,* but these may be underestimated. They vary in fact from about 400,000 to 700,000 according to season and other factors.†

The total area of Masailand in Kenya and Tanganyika is about 41,000 square miles or 26,240,000 acres (16,000 square miles or 9,600,000 acres in Kenya, and 25,000 square miles or 15,040,000 acres in Tanganyika), after deducting 5,000 square miles or 3,000,000 acres from the Kenya Land Unit as being useless on account of bush or tsetse fly, the Kenya Masai have about three acres per head of stock which is stunted with stony flint grass, whereas in country such as Wales or the alluvial regions anything from three to five acres per head, owing to the low rainfall, poor grazing, scarcity of rivers, and lengthy droughts. Their Land Unit is also a Game Reserve.

Sources: Sandford, 1919; C.O. Comms, 1948.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

At the height of their power in the middle of the 19th century the Masai occupied a stretch of country which covered some 600 miles from north to south, and, at the widest, 150 miles from east to west. The northern limit was approximately Lake Baringo (now much less), 30 miles south of Lake Rudolf; the southern, Longido, near

* C. H. Dale Lewis, "Kenya in Wonderland," 1948, 1948, p. 44.
† Information from the C. O. Publication.

(19)

THE GROSSER RIFT-REGIONS

...(km), some 50 miles south of Kikuyu in Tanganyika. The most northerly Masai were (and still are) the Samburu, who in 1888 extended more than 100 miles north, nearly towards Lake Rudolf. This vast country, with an area exceeding in extent 30,000 square miles, was reduced to one-half its original size by the great invasion of the plateau, disease, rainfall, and vegetation. There are three vegetation zones: the hot or southern low desert scrub and a desert type of grass; the second or medium zone has thorn bush and medium grass; the third or highland zone has evergreen forest, parkland, and tall grass. In Kenya, the altitude of Masailand ranges from c.600 (= 6,000 ft., through to the highlands which in between Mounts Kenya and Elgon to over 2 the bold to some places rises to 10,000 ft. Most of the present Masai Land Unit is in zone 2, part of the extreme northern territory of pre-European times is in zone 1. In Tanganyika, the Masai territory is at a lower altitude, ranging from 4,000 to 6,000 ft. and including the isolated mountains Kilimanjaro and Meru. Much of this country is waterless, and belongs to zone 2. In Tanganyika Masailand, there is one permanent river, the Kura or Pangani, on the eastern boundary. Some are a few seasonal rivers, but for their main water supply the Masai depend on salty waterholes, and springs. Since only the third zone is well watered, and most of the Masai live in zone 2, their life is conditioned to a great extent by the water needs, and in the early years a form of transhumance is practised. In the present Masai Land Unit in Kenya, the rivers are few, and the rainfall low. Most of the few large rivers run their together in bush country unfitted for grazing, the main rivers, too, run in the flats and quite too many railway across the Land Unit to use entirely, the 6 seasons gain. There are no lakes except the salty lakes Magadi, Nakuru, and Elmenteita, though in the northern part formerly occupied by the Masai is the chain of lakes Baringo, Hannington (salt), Solai, Nakuru (salt), Elmenteita, and Naivasha. The Rift Valley, in which these lakes lie, runs right through Masailand from south to north. In many places the floor of the valley is a wide grassy plain as others, as in the Kuria Valley, it is narrow with high precipitous walls. The rainfall is low, the average for the eight years 1910-17 and 1926-8 at Narok being 40 ins., with a range of 27 ins. to 12 ins. It is recorded that at Longido in one year there fell only 9 ins., three of those in one night. With such a rainfall, grazing cannot be anything but scanty. The average rainfall recorded by three gauges in the Masai region between Kikuyu and Arusha for nine years is 25.5 ins. There are two seasons, the dry weather from June to November, followed by short rains in November and December, after which there may be rain in January and February (January: (914), 0.60 in.; (915), 4.20 ins.; (917), 5.80 ins.; February: (913), 1.80 ins.; (914), 4.20 ins.; (917), 5.20 ins.; though in (919) a dry year in Kenya, there was only 0.20 in. in February). The dry weather is called "the months of hunger," by the Masai. The exceptional rain season is from March to May, "the months of plenty," though small amounts of rain may fall in other months, notably June to August, which are called "the months of showers." The figures given for Kenya refer only to Narok, and to the more arid parts there is not only less rainfall, but the small precipitation run off sooner has little effect on grazing or water supply. Except in the highland zone, where there is some seasonal variation, dry conditions rarely vary between 60° and 70° F.

Sources:- Thomson, 1885; Swallow, 1910; Page-Jones, 1948; James, 1938.

BASIC FEATURES OF ECONOMY

Agricultural Systems

In dry weather the cattle graze round the permanent waters to the east where the cattle are driven in the temporary waters that form, leaving the grass round the permanent waters to rest. In both seasons the kraals are built a few miles from the water supply. On one day the cattle are taken to drink, and on the next they

13 (Huntingford E.-4 (no date) 1953. FS.13 Wood. FS.13
Agricultural Wood

[illegible] THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

[illegible] whose warlike qualities appeal to the Wood. Sheep, honey-skins, and ivory are got from the Dorobo. Every man used to the old days for trading with the Dorobo [illegible] concerns for cloth, beads, skin, and so forth. Trade outside Wood-land is conducted mostly by the elders, for by mutual arrangement they were allowed to pass unmolested from tribe to tribe even during the progress of a war.

Hunting

[illegible] Though the Wood do not have [illegible], and despise those who do, they used occasionally to kill wild animals, elephants for their tusks, buffalo and eland for the meat and hides, ostriches for their feathers, and lion and leopard to protect their cattle.

Labour

[illegible] Although deprived of their only real occupation, fighting, the Wood have not yet as a people accepted any substitute for it, [illegible] as Crawford noted, "the proud do work," i.e., for wages. A small number have accepted employment as herdsmen on farms, and some have done good service in the Police and K.A.R., though even in a military capacity most of them are still unwilling to submit to a form of discipline that is not their own. Though a few have taken to cultivation, the majority have not yet consented to stoop to what they consider labour unworthy of a Wood.

Sources: Thomson, 1885; Hollis, 1905; Johnston, 1902; Barker, 1910; Swinburn, 1916; Fazakerley, 1918, and personal communication.

THE AGRICULTURAL WOOD

[illegible] The agricultural Wood, the [illegible] (Lumbwa) and [illegible] of former days, are people of Wood stock who, having lost their cattle through disease or duties, were forced to take up agriculture in order to survive, and by so doing accept the lowly contempt of the pastoral Wood. It is in most cases uncertain how long the various groups of [illegible] have been agriculturalists; some of the northern Wood, for example, were attracted by the Lega early in the 19th century and took to agriculture. Fischer in 1892 reported groups of "Wakwavi," as he called them, living on the southern edge of the Mau at Nikarnbasi (Nyberi primary, 10 miles south-west of Nakuru), to the region known as Nyarumbe (or Narumbe, "the Gorge") for about 30 miles south of Lake Naivasha, at the southern foot of Mt. Meru, and at Kilifi.[1] Von Höhnel adds Nikarnbasi, 30 miles north-west of Lake Naivasha;[2] another group is named by Thomson and von Höhnel[3] at Taveta, while the map in Hollis's "The Masai" shows them as extending for about 100 miles south-south-east of Lake Naivasha. The two known [illegible] are the northern group called [illegible] or [illegible] (Njonge) near Lake Baringo, concerning whom we have [illegible] the fullest information.

[illegible] With the exception of the Taveta group, the agricultural Wood in general maintain the pastoral Wood in appearance, dress, and general culture, and though they cultivate the ground, still have the acquisition of cattle as their chief ambition. Those of Taveta have mingled with the Taveta,[4] and have become the most successful cultivators among the Wood, the rest of the agricultural Wood in the days of Thomson and Hollis] grew mainly sesame and millet, while the [illegible] grew also pumpkins, and cited unreservedly to grow maize. Most of the agricultural Wood supplemented their diet by hunting, bee-keeping, and, where possible, by fishing.

[1] See Ahnen-Kamp (1909), map at end.
[2] Fazakerley, op. cit., p. 2.
[3] Through Masai Land, chap. iii; Fazakerley, op. cit., pp. 6-9.
[4] Cited by von Höhnel in Fischer, map at Appendix.

13 Huntingford B.-6 (no date) 1953 FL.12 Maasai FL.12
Agricultural Rites

In 1932 the Il-Chamus numbered about 2,000 (1,432 according to the 1948 Census), and though they are of Maasai stock, being descended from a Maasai section called Il-Odoghi, they have absorbed a variety of refugee including Kamasia, and become rather mixed. According to one Hildoni they had originally two villages at the south end of Lake Baringo, but two were destroyed on account of Maasai raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge on Kokwa Island in Lake Baringo. They are expert cultivators and possess numerous irrigation furrows. Their dwellings are round huts with rather high-pitched and watertight conical thatched roofs, and walls of posts and sticks. There are crowded into two permanent villages known as "Nyenga Kubwa" and "Nyenga Ndogo" in the Ngambi valley a few miles south of Lake Baringo; the closely packed huts always touch each other, and the wall-sealed granaries are surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the Il-Chamus keep no close as they use to the dress and customs of the pastoral Maasai; they have circumcision and dances and other ceremonies, and practise the "*ime-kore*" system of the pastoralists, though without the manyatas. Today they have some 100,000 acres of poor land, most of it unfit for cultivation, but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 10,000 or more head of cattle, and 30,000 goats and sheep, thus achieving in part the ambition of all Il-Odoghi to become cattle people again. In the time of Thomson and Hildebrandt, however, Nyenga was an important station on the caravan route, and was Hildebrandt noted that they had a large extent of cultivated land. This was divided into blocks (the size of three to four miles square) which were intersected by irrigation channels bringing water from dams across the river Ngambi. This system was still working in Chandler's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch.[1] Besides agriculture, the Il-Chamus fish-t and trade[2] using the lake, and spears of fish and Cyprinus type.

It is possible that the fishing group called Il-Molo who live on the east shore of Lake Rudolf is to be classed as Il-Odoghi.[3] They subsist on a diet of fish alone which, when Fuchs and von Höhnel saw them in 1888, had produced an ill-effect, but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the appearance of rickets in all members of the group. There seems to be a great deal of Lolubia blood in them.

The Il-Arusa round Mount Meru are a large tribe of agricultural Maasai, originally of Kwavi stock, but now accepted by the pastoral Maasai as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Baraguyu in Southern Ukamba are also to be classed as agricultural Maasai.[4]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *el-aiyoni*. At circumcision[5] he enters an age-set and becomes a warrior, *el-murani*, "one who is circumcised," and may associate with uncircumcised girls. At the *el-gulan* ceremony he becomes an elder, *el-moruo*. Warriors may marry when they become senior warriors. After the *el-gulan* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get wives

[1] G. H. Thomson, *JRAI*, XX, pp. 48-49.
[2] M. S. Cowie and T. G. Fuchs, "The Islands," *JRAI*, xxxii, 1, 2, p. 220; von Höhnel, II, pp. 139-40.
[3] The people known as Kwafana in northern Transjordan are not Maasai, but people of Bantu stock who have adopted them.
[4] There is some disagreement as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hollis gives the limits as 15-17 years; Kyallo-Ole gives the lower limit as 18 or 19.

/10 cont./

dare to appear unannounced before the mighty one. Thus, the Masai living on the military station of Mbuchi /Mboshi/ remained hidden during Zandeo's presence when the latter visited it at the beginning of 1896, and my Masai servant did not dare deliver a message either to Zandeo or to an assistant sitting beside him.

The aim of the chief's policy is the unity and strengthening of the Masai. By letting the capacity of the warriors spend itself in expeditions against foreign tribes, he protects his own people from devastating civil wars for which the endless friction of the districts among themselves would give continuous occasion. This influence makes possible for him the belief that a victory is attainable only through the secret power of the war medicine that he alone knows how to manufacture, and a defeat must inevitably ensue if he neglects it. Neither he nor his closest relatives go to war. He gives remedies against epidemics and sicknesses -- as a rule in the form /ib/ of magic medicines -- and orders supplication feasts in honor of the Masai god Ngai. He reads the prophecies from an oracle game of the kind of the counting off of buttons. From a goat's horn provided with a leather cover (Fig. 1) he takes a handful of river pebbles, puts one or several of them aside, and throws back the rest. After he has repeated this several times, he announces his prophetic verdict, which often enough is worded in Pythian ambiguity. The game, like the lineage, is called oo oldoni. The office of ol oibonî is hereditary and has been handed down until the most recent times from father to the eldest son of the principal wife. The badge of his office is an iron club.

Fig. 1.

The Masai do not know much to say about the genealogical tree of the El oibonik. The first four or five names that it contains belong to chiefs who ruled in early times. These names are: Kidoinet, Gwiga, Bergumbe (Ramjumbe), and Lesigirifichi. The next chiefs are historical and descend from modern times. The first of them, Kibeibete, seems to have ruled at the beginning of the nineteenth century; he was followed by his son Sironik, who

791 /19 cont./
• 175 was followed by Subet and the latter by Mbaryan. After the latter's
[619] death the Masai split up. One part placed itself under Lenana,
the eldest son of the principal wife, who was born before the succes-
sion of Mbaryan, the other under Zendeo, who was the old man's
favorite son and named by him to be his successor. The people
relate that Lenana cheated Zendeo out of the succession in a way
similar to how Jacob cheated Esau out of the right of the first-born.
Whereas the deception was achieved in the latter case through the
tied-on goatskin, it was made possible in the former case by the
gloom of the hut in which old, weak Mbaryan was lying on his sick-
bed. He thought he had Zendeo before him and instructed Lenana
in the secret arts of the ol olbonî. The two are now bitter enemies,
[669] who maintain a continuous civil war, to the misfortune of the Masai
people. Lenana, now a man about 40 years old, lives with his
followers in British East Africa, in the vicinity of the railroad station
Nairobi, whereas Zendeo, ten years younger, inhabits, with his
hordes, the steppes of German East Africa. Both are merely phan-
tom figures in comparison with their father, who had occupied an
175 outstanding place in the succession of chiefs. Under him the Masai
619 experienced their last golden age. After his forefathers Simoik and
791 Subet had subjugated the Wakuafi, it rested upon him to keep down
726 their constant uprisings and to weaken and enslave them so that no
[669] danger from them could threaten the Masai any longer. Through a
well-organized spy system Mbaryan kept himself continuously
informed about the conditions of his opponents, so that the rapacious
warriors could always attack those very Wakuafi settlements in
which a war expedition /20/ against the Masai was being prepared.
The most trouble here was made by the Wakuafi of Meruberg /Mt.
Meru/, who found safe hiding places for women and livestock in
the clefted mountain forests, while the men undertook raids on
175 neighboring Masai kraals. Finally, however, the Meru people were
619 successfully mastered; indeed, they even became so pliable that
791 they performed compulsory labor for their oppressors. One must
729 bear in mind with what deep contempt all men of the Masai people
466 look upon any kind of work, which they regard as something dis-
461 graceful, not compatible with a man's dignity, in order to

/31 cont./
underwent what such a success meant. Mbaryas demanded thousands of workers, and they served obediently, in endless long lines, men, women and children, toward the steppe area of Kimaigo, lying

Member photo.

Ill. 4. *Lenaiwa*, the present chief of the Akamba.

west of the mountain, where the mighty one resided, like his ancestors. There they had to dig a long water channel, whereby -- a further particular humiliation -- the men had to work in rank and file with the women. Encouraged by these and other successes, the Akamba became more and more arrogant, and they extended their war expeditions farther and farther. It was not only the Negro tribes of the interior who had to suffer under their lust for robbery and murder, they even penetrated into the immediate hinterland of the coast and directly approached the coastal cities of Mombasa, Tanga, Bagamoyo, and others.

The belief in the magic means for healing purposes which Mbaryas gave those seeking help, and whose chief ingredient quantitatively was the vanilla-scented, pulverized wood of the ol mogoigoro liana, was so deep-seated in the people /32/ that it was often supposed to have actually brought to the people

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1954-1962)1956 FL12 Maasai FL12

[illegible] before -- the Masai tribe occupied what is now Western Kenya[illegible] by conquering and enslaving the previous [illegible] inhabitants (Ehret, 1967). The Masai were a fierce and warlike people. Once they had taken over that country no one seriously disputed it with them.

In the early 1900's through the forcefulness of [illegible] Kenya the Masai made a treaty directly with the Queen of England. This involved re-settling a segment of the Kenya Masai, but the long term effect was to put the Kenya Masai in a privileged position relative to the other tribes -- who did not have such a treaty -- and to give them a degree of autonomy virtually unknown to other parts of Kenya. Because of their remote location and the nature of the Kenya-like administration, the Masai in the Kenya-like portion of Western Kenya also maintained a large degree of autonomy. Aided by these circumstances, the extremely conservative western Masai have kept largely to themselves, and to an extraordinary degree the modern world has gone on around them, instead of over them and through their country.

My first visit to the Serengeti-Mara region was in 1958. I had been assigned to carry out a brief zoological reconnaissance of the Serengeti National Park under the sponsorship of the Wildlife Management Institute and the American Committee for International Wild Life Protection (Talbot, 1958).

and available also same as in maps.

Passing north from Arusha, the Great North Road skirts Mt. Meru, then crosses about 40 miles of fairly level land before passing Longido Hill, 30 miles north of the Kenya border. In German times (1908) the land from here eastward into the Great Rift was colonised as a game reserve and Masai were excluded. From the descriptions of East African residents who studied the area during and just after the 1914-1918 war, and from the description and vegetation map of Swynnerton (1954) this area was open perennial Themeda grassland, with good grass cover and abundant wildlife.

The Settlers took over Longonjoke as a forest reserve after World War I, and in the 1930's they opened the reserve to the Masai. For a time the Masai had moderate numbers of livestock, grazed seasonally in the area along with the wild ungulates. Then a series of water points were provided, using bore holes and piping water into the grassland from springs on nearby wooded mountains. This water allowed the Masai to keep their cattle year-long in areas formerly used only seasonally, with the result that most of the area has been devastated. The Themeda with the rest of the perennial grass cover is gone. The soil is gone, leaving

[illegible] miles station north of Kenyan Kwaitland, and [illegible] it to a desert at present. A tribal elder called Mwaindo found a way to climb the escarpment at the south of Kisaju and some of the tribe then moved into the Kenya [illegible] highlands. The legendary Mwaindo had also been who became the founders of the present-day Maasai clans.

The tribe gradually moved south. At Ngong, near Nairobi, according to their traditions they found a Kwavirikwa child who became their first laibon or medicine man (Huntingford, 1955). Fosbrooke (1948) dated the arrival at Ngong at 1648 on the basis of the genealogy of the laibons founded by that legendary first child. During the next 150 years the Maasai moved over [illegible] miles station southward.

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4 178 [illegible] By 1800 a few Maasai had made what proved to be the tribe's decisive penetration into Tanganyika but it was not until about 1850 that they had completed their occupation of what is now the Maasai Steppe in Tanganyika (Fig. 1). [illegible] There had been constant warfare and raiding involved in this settlement, and the peoples of Maasailand fluctuated somewhat. But a time the Maasai occupied the area immediately south of the Ngorongoro Highlands, as well as lands near Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru that are now in other hands.

[illegible] [See p. 9a.--Analyst]

The people whom the Maasai displaced in Tanganyika were mostly pastoralists. There were also some small tribes who practiced irrigated cultivation near the Rift wall and on some mountain flanks. Those who immediately preceded the present Maasai may have been related to them, and they, in turn, related other residents. Some of these early people dug wells and built dams, but Fosbrooke (1948) believes that except for irrigation systems on some mountains, these enterprises were for pastoralism rather than agriculture. There were also isolated tribes of metal workers to the south who may have provided the Maasai with spears and knives.

In the study area, the Maasai occupation of the Ngorongoro Highlands and the Serengeti Plain was probably completed by 1850. A people called the Il Datoo occupied the highlands and much of the rest of the area, both north and south of Ngorongoro. These were probably both pastoralists and cultivators. Another obscure tribe, the Sonjo, lived near the foot of the Rift near Lake Natron.

Somewhere between 1830 and 1851 the Maasai drove the Il Datoo off of the Crater Highlands and the Serengeti Plain. The limestone wells of the eastern

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Serengetti are said by the Masai to have been dug by the El Molos, and they still call the Ngorongoro Highlands "Empaya loi Bolos" in memory of the people from whom they took the area. By the end of 19 years the Masai took the first land immediately south of the highlands. Then, until about 1890, several sections and sub sections of the Masai occupied the entire Serengetti Plains, the Ngorongoro Highlands, and the lands immediately west of the Rift. They kept the land south of the highlands through benevolence of the tsetse fly, just as they kept other lands to the east and south of the present Masailand.

During the period of 1860 to 1890 the Masai were a prosperous tribe and they probably counted their maximum land holdings and cattle numbers. The area they occupied extended roughly 500 miles from north to south and 250 miles from east to west, an estimated 85,000 square miles. Under the leadership of their paramount Laibon, Mbatian, they raided from Lake Victoria to the Indian Ocean. Ranfurly (1938) and Sikes (1963) quote excerpts from the writings of many early explorers referring to the extent and effect of these Masai raids. The raids were not confined to other tribes, however. Some of their more devastating battles took place between different sections of the Masai themselves.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Maasai FL12

• 176 [illegible] about 1890, at the peak of their power and prosperity, the Masai were struck by famine, smallpox, and rinderpest. The effects of a protracted drought about 1890 were intensified by rinderpest. This infectious virus disease is often fatal to cattle and many wild ungulates. It was introduced into Abyssinia and Egypt from India and the Black Sea in the late 1800's (Percival, 1928). By 1892 it had swept into South Africa, striking many of Africa's domestic and wild ungulates on the way. The disease entered Rhodesia in 1896 via some diseased cattle stolen by the Masai at Lotlamis (Percival, op. cit.). At nearly the same time it may have entered Rhodesia to the north and north west. It rapidly spread to virtually all the cattle of the Masai, as well as to many of the wild animals. At the same time a smallpox epidemic struck the Masai. Hobley (1899), who crossed the Ngorongoro Crater in 1897, wrote a graphic account of the pitiful condition of the sick and dying Masai he encountered on the Crater floor.

As a result of these multiple disasters, many areas formerly occupied by the tribe were emptied, the cattle gone, and the people dead or scattered.

175 During the famine, the Laibon Mbatian died. His

• [illegible] but as was the structure value of the Hawaii. The organizations of the societies was much broken up. Many personnel Hawaii had lost their heads and had taken to hunting as individuals. Some had been taken to the surrounding tribes and others taken as captives by them. A great many had died as were killed in the subjugation of Pallas, disobedient, savages, and civil war. Therefore the population of Hawaii in Wasteland around 1960 must have been quite low. The lowest ebb probably came around 1990 or 1995, and there had been some recovery in the next decade. Some Hawaii had started to rebuild their tribes by stealing cattle. Others sought them by working for the farmers helping to subdue other tribes.

It is uncertain what the fate of the Hawaii would have been without the intervention of the Europeans. Those most afflicted with Hawaii-itis insist that the Hawaii were recovering rapidly and that they would have risen to greater power had for the Europeans, who held them down and took their land. Those on the other side say that the Hawaii were a dying race and that only the protection of the Europeans enabled them to maintain their way of life. The truth doubtless lies between the extreme views. Even Hollis (1967) who was certainly not anti-Hawaii felt that they would have to alter their way of life if they were to survive.

In terms of total population the Maasai have greatly prospered under European administration. It has been calculated that at the peak of Maasai power, before 1890, the total population of Maasai was around 45,000 (Simoons, 1963). By the mid 1930's they had recovered from their losses of disasters and their numbers were estimated at about 95,000 (Jacobs, 1965). The census of 1948 gave the total Maasai population as 187,000 (Huntingford, 1953). The most recent census places the population at about 227,000.

Most of the Maasai prosperity in the 20th century has taken place under the English administration. In 1904 the boundaries of the German Territory of Tanganyika stopped short of what is now Tanganyika Maasailand, but it was included in the German "sphere of interest" (Gregory, 1962). Subsequently, apparently because there were so few Maasai living in Maasailand following their multiple disasters, the Germans created a Maasai Reserve that was mostly south of an east-west line through Arusha. This direction left the Ngorongoro Highlands, the Loliondo area, and the highlands near Eastern Maasailand free for European settlement and displaced the Maasai living there. This action further encouraged the pastoral of the Maasai, some of whom moved north into Kenya and others south into

the Northern Kenya Reserve. After the 1914-18 war the English allowed the Masai to return to most of the areas they formerly occupied in Tanganyika.

After defeating the Germans, Lenana returned to Kenya and in 1922 he peacefully acknowledged British rule. The Masai were still very few in numbers but they ranged over a wide area of Kenya, grazing their cattle and cultivating. In 1926 two Masai reserves were created, a northern one of some 4,500 square miles in the Laikipia area, northeast of Nairobi Reserve, and a southern one of about 6,000 square miles which included part of the present Southern Reserve in Kenya. The Masai, led by Lenana, signed a treaty accepting the reserves in August 1926. This arrangement did not prove satisfactory for either the Masai or the English. Lenana found it difficult to control the northern Masai when he was in the south and requested that the reserves be joined. Consequently, after several years of negotiations, a treaty was signed in 1911 in which the Masai gave up the 4,500 square miles of the Northern Reserve and received in return over 9,000 square miles of land including what is now the Kenya portion of Southern Reserve. Part of this area was unoccupied, some of it was European ranch land, and part of it had been occupied by former tribes by Masai. This new half of the Southern

19: Ballot E-4,5 (1954-1962)1964 FL12 Maasai FL12

Reserve beside Narok District, with headquarters at Narok. The remainder of the Southern Reserve was Kajiado District, with the headquarters at Kajiado, about 40 miles south of Nairobi on the Great North Road (Fig. 1). The Provincial headquarters for both districts was located at Ngong, just west of Nairobi.

With subsequent extensions, the Masai in Kenya received a total of over 22,000 square miles which included some of the finest grazing and forest land in Kenya.

Partisans of the Masai say that the treaty of 1911 was a catastrophe for the Masai and that they were tricked by government into giving up good land for bad. It is also pointed out, however, that as a result of the treaty of 1911 the Masai received even twice as much as they lost, and that land included some of the finest grazing and forest land in Kenya. The treaty was negotiated and signed by the Masai leaders. As a result of that treaty, their population density in the reserve was probably about one and one third persons per square mile, as in terms of land, this treaty made the Masai one of the richest tribes in Africa.

Regardless of the logic, the move was resented

• [illegible] strongly by many of the Asasi involved. One of these who made the move are still living, but the enemy of it to kept alive by the Asasi collaborators. The Asasi in Kenya's Western Mountains are, or are descended from, those who made the move from Lolgipia. They are characteristically more conservative and more distrustful of the government than other groups of Asasi, and they attribute these attitudes to the move.

Ayikoosha (1968:113), an advisor of the Asasi, attributes the conservatism of the Kenyanjiba Asasi to their hardships from famine, pestilence, wars and Masai+ subjugation in this way:

> It is almost impossible to find at the present day an elder who did not go through considerable hardship in his youth. To anyone who has been one regarded a generation, such generation is of greater value, at least sentimentally. The Asasi of Kenyanjiba lost their cattle, their mode of living and their tribal life, and largely by their own efforts have once again regained them. It is supposed that their tenacious conservatism and resistance of change has perhaps to be seen understood in the light of the foregoing.

[illegible] During the Kenyan period the Asasi were largely excluded from the Western Mountains by [illegible] although occasional raiding parties came through it. Between 1950 and 1965, according to Grant (1967), there was one Asasi encampment on Kenyan's Kaseeka

• (TSE 6/62 (2)) on the Nana Kaplow on the western edge of the Serengeti Plains, just north of the headwaters of the Simiyu River (Fig. 2).[1] Western Nassilland in Tanganyika is large and was virtually uninhabited by Europeans, as Administrators were based elsewhere throughout the Nassa province.

During the 1914-18 war the Germans retreated from northern Tanganyika. The Nassi knew they had enlisted Angan mercenaries by their former grazing grounds. In addition by the end of the 1914-18 war Nassi from Kenya had penetrated the Serengeti region and the Ngorongoro highlands. Part of these were from the Purko section, people who as a result of the 1911 treaty had moved from areas around Lake Naivasha to the Laikipia Plateau north of Nairobi. Others were of the Laitayo section who formerly lived on the Laitayo Plateau.

When the English took over Tanganyika as a Trust Territory after the 1914-18 war, they established all of Tanganyika Nassiland as a single Nassi District. The headquarters were at Mandoli, about 15 miles west of Arusha (Fig. 1).[2] As the study area the western boundary of the Nassi District is the line between the Lake Province and the Northern Province (which includes the Nassi District). This line was drawn by the Germans

[1] [See p.13.--Ainsley] [2] [See p. 9a.--Ainsley]

• [illegible] went on note through the Serengeti Plains slightly penetrating the eastern border of the Serengeti National Park (Fig.6). Grant (1957) notes that the line is an arbitrary one which did not take account of the actual distribution of the Masai. The Serengeti section of the Masai formerly occupied the plains west of the line. When the Germans surveyed the area they apparently thought it established because the Masai had been displaced by famine and civil war. When the [illegible] set the Serengeti Masai returned to the western Serengeti. They were then to take Provisions but they were so isolated from the administration that the District Officer for the Masai District at Loliondo handled their administration.

In 1958 the English administration ~~established~~ the Serengeti Kenya Masai from Tanganyika in front of the resident Kisongo section of the Tanganyika Masai. Since then the Kenya Masai have been moving southward again slowly.

[illegible] Early in Europe there the importance of the unique wildlife concentrations in the Serengeti and Ngorongoro Crater were recognized (Grzimek and Grzimek, 1960a). During the period between the wars the Tanganyika Government created several nature reserves in the area protecting some of the wildlife from hunting, but not much affecting the Masai.